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MARRIAGE CEREMONIES

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I HAVE to thank my friend Mr. Gerald C. Wheeler for kindly reading over both the manuscript and the proofs, and my friend and colleague Professor Knut L. Tallqvist for giving me his advice on some philological matter.

E. W.

HELSINGFORS,
8th January 1914.

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INTRODUCTORY

THIS book is meant to be a kind of apology for a serious omission of which I was guilty when I wrote my *History of Human Marriage*, over twenty years ago. In that book I devoted only a very short chapter to the wedding ceremonies, and in my brief treatment of them I almost entirely failed to recognise their magical significance. This was afterwards strongly emphasised by Mr. Ernest Crawley in his theory that the ceremonies of marriage are intended to neutralise the dangers supposed to be connected with all contact between man and woman and with the state of marriage itself, as also to make the union safe, prosperous, and happy—a theory which, as he himself acknowledged in the Preface to *The Mystic Rose*, was founded on Dr. Frazer's discovery of the primitive conception of danger attaching to the sexual act. For my own part I shall not here make an attempt to lay down any general theory as to the origin of marriage ceremonies, but shall restrict myself to the wedding customs of a single people, namely, the Muhammedan natives of Morocco, among whom I

have spent some six years engaged in sociological research.

These natives are chiefly of Berber race, although the Berber language, which before the arrival of the Arabs undoubtedly was spread over the whole country, is nowadays mostly restricted to mountain districts. The Berber-speaking tribes, to whom alone the term "Berbers" is popularly applied, may be divided into several groups. There are the Berbers of the Rīf, called Ruâfa, whose country extends along the Mediterranean coast from the neighbourhood of Tetuan to the Algerian frontier; the Brâber, who inhabit the mountain regions of Central Morocco and the eastern portion of the Great Atlas range; the Shlöḥ, who inhabit the western part of the Great Atlas and the province of Sūs, situated to the south of it—a territory the eastern frontier of which may be roughly indicated by a line drawn from Demnat in a south-easterly direction, and the northern frontier by a slightly curved line uniting Demnat with Mogador on the Atlantic coast and following the foot of the mountains, or, in some places, intercepting a strip of the plain; and the Dráwa, who inhabit the valley of the Wad Drā in the extreme south of Morocco. As a fifth group must, from a linguistic point of view, be counted various tribes living in the neighbourhood of Ujda, in the north-east of the country (Aṯ Buzéggu, Aṯ Ziḫri, Aṯ ʿĂmár, Aṯ Shbĕl, Aṯ Lmḛḍi, Aṯ Yiznásĕn, Aṯ Yáʿla, and Aṯ Ubáḫṯi).

The Arabic-speaking people of Morocco consist of the ʿArab ("Arabs"), who inhabit most of the plains;

the Jbâla, who inhabit the mountains of Northern Morocco, north-west, west, and south-west of the Rīf, towards the neighbourhood of Fez—a group of tribes in whose veins, in spite of their language, there can hardly be a drop of Arab blood; and the Arabic-speaking inhabitants of the towns, who are often referred to as "Moors," although this name may be more conveniently applied to the Muhammedan population of Morocco in general.

I have, during my sixteen journeys to Morocco, been anxious to study the customs and beliefs of these various groups of people, and for this reason chosen representatives for all of them, with the exception of the Dráwa, as regards whom I have been unable to procure any reliable information. In this book the Ruâfa are represented by the Aiṯ Wäryâġäl, better known under their Arabic name Beni Wäryâġäl; the Berbers in the neighbourhood of Ujda by the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi (Arab. Bḫâtˁa); the Brâber by the Aiṯ (Arab. Beni) Sádděn, Aiṯ Yúsi, Ait (Arab. Beni) Waṛáin, and Aiṯ Nḏēr (Arab. Beni Mṯēr); the Shlöḥ by the people of Aglu on the coast of Sūs, the Ait Táměldu on the southern slopes of the Great Atlas range, the Igliwa inhabiting the district of Glawi in the same mountains, and the inhabitants of Amzmüz; the 'Arab by the Ulâd Bu-'Ăzîz in Dukkâla, the natives of the Ḥiâịna in the neighbourhood of Fez, and those of the Ġarbîya in Northern Morocco; the Jbâla by the tribe of Andjra, on the southern shore of the Straits of Gibraltar, and the Tsūl, one of the most southerly tribes of the

group; and the townsfolk by the inhabitants of Fez and Tangier.

It must be understood, however, that the tribes belonging to the same group often differ more or less from each other in their customs, as they also do in their language. Whilst their dialects have a greater resemblance than those spoken within different groups, they may at the same time present considerable dissimilarities; the Shelḥa of Aglu, for example, is not the same as the Shelḥa of Glawi, and among the Brâber the language even of neighbouring tribes, like the Aiṯ Sáddĕn and Ait Waráin, may differ so much in its vocabulary and phonetics that a member of the one tribe sometimes finds it difficult to understand a member of the other and, as I have tested myself, is unable to imitate certain sounds of his dialect. As regards customs the local influence may be so strong that there is, not infrequently, a greater resemblance in this respect between "Arabs" and "Berbers" living in the same neighbourhood than between tribes belonging to the same group. On the other hand, it must not be supposed that the customs are quite uniform even within the same tribe.

I have myself visited many of the places and tribes mentioned in this book. Thus I have spent half a year in Fez; the same length of time in Andjra, and several weeks in other tribes of the Jbâla; some months in the Faḥṣ; about five months in the Ġarbîya; nearly two months among the Ulâd Bu-'Ázîz, besides which I had daily intercourse with men of this tribe during my five months' stay in Mazagan; three months among the

Shlöḥ of the Great Atlas range; and several months in Marrakesh and Mogador, where I employed Shlöḥ as my teachers. During my stay in Fez and Ṣĕfru and the excursions I made from the latter place to the surrounding tribe of the Aiṯ Yúsi, I had a good opportunity to study the customs of Berbers belonging to the group of the Brâber, of whom it has been justly said that they are the least known people in Northern Africa. In Morocco very many districts are absolutely inaccessible to any traveller who cannot disguise himself as a native, and to do this is of course impossible in the case of a prolonged stay. Even for my sojourn in Andjra, which was then in a disturbed state, my Legation required of me a written statement to the effect that I went there entirely at my own risk. Yet the treatment I received there, as well as among other mountaineers and peasants not generally noted for friendliness towards Europeans, was invariably of the kindliest nature; and for this credit is due to my Moorish friend Shereef ʿAbd-es-Salâm el-Baqqâli, who has accompanied me on all my journeys in Morocco and rendered me invaluable assistance. But also with regard to tribes which I have not visited myself I have in every case got my information from natives of those tribes, with the exception of the statements relating to the Aiṯ Nḏēr, most of which were made by an old Berber from another tribe who for very many years had been a resident among them—as also of a few other statements, the unauthoritative character of which is expressly mentioned in the text.

My descriptions of wedding ceremonies are thus very largely drawn from oral information, which I have obtained both from men and women. This is true even in the case of tribes where I myself have been present at a wedding, either as an invited guest or as a spectator in Moorish disguise, since I obviously could not see everything which took place. I shall give the accounts of my informants in full in spite of the repetitions they contain; though these may be a little tiresome to the reader they will, at the same time, serve as a guarantee for the accuracy of the statements.

My subject is not altogether new, although a comparative study of the marriage ceremonies in the different parts of Morocco has not been attempted before. Previous writers have given longer or shorter descriptions of marriages celebrated in certain localities or tribes, such as Fez,[1] Tangier,[2] Alcazar (l-Qṣar l-Kbīr),[3] Demnat,[4] and the Faḥṣ,[5] Ḥloṭ,[6] Habṭ,[7] and Raḥámna.[8] The present treatise, however, is entirely

[1] Leo Africanus, *History and Description of Africa*, ii. (London, 1896), pp. 448-452. Eugène Aubin (Descos), *Morocco of To-day* (London, 1906), pp. 256-260.

[2] Salmon, 'Les Mariages musulmans à Tanger,' in *Archives marocaines*, i. (1904), pp. 273-289. Emily, Shareefa of Wazan, *My Life Story* (London, 1911), pp. 125-138.

[3] Michaux-Bellaire and Salmon, 'El-Qçar el-Kebir,' in *Archives marocaines*, vol. ii. no. ii. (1904), pp. 66-72.

[4] Saïd Boulifa, *Textes berbères en dialecte de l'Atlas marocain* (Paris, 1908), pp. 5-23.

[5] Salmon, 'Une Tribu marocaine,' in *Archives marocaines*, i. (1904), pp. 207-212.

[6] Michaux-Bellaire and Salmon, 'Les Tribus arabes de la vallée du Lekkoûs,' in *Archives marocaines*, vi. (1906), pp. 223-233.

[7] Michaux-Bellaire, 'Quelques tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt,' in *Archives marocaines*, xvii. (1911), pp. 127-134.

[8] Doutté, *Merrâkech* (Paris, 1905), pp. 331-339.—In Budgett Meakin's book on *The Moors* (London, 1902; pp. 361-375) a chapter is devoted to marriage, chiefly though not exclusively as it is celebrated at Tangier. Other references to marriage

based on my own notes, though reference is occasionally made to facts recorded by my predecessors.

In my study of the wedding ceremonies I have not been content with ascertaining the bare external facts, but have, so far as possible, tried to discover the ideas underlying them. The reader will find that the explanations given by the natives themselves are not always alike. The reason for this may be either that the same ceremony has in different cases sprung from different sources, or that it has a mixed motive, or that its real origin has been forgotten and a new interpretation substituted for the idea from which it rose.

There is a tendency in Anthropology to assume that similar ceremonies have their roots in similar ideas, even when practised by different peoples; and this tendency has often led to ill-founded or even obviously erroneous conclusions. It should be remembered that, especially among simple peoples, the means of expressing ideas in actions are so limited, that the same kind of activity or the making use of similar objects may very often have a different psychological origin in different cases. Objects like corn, dried fruit, eggs, milk, etc., may be used for a variety of purposes; eggs in wedding ceremonies, for example, may be intended to promote fecundity on account of physiological associations, or to give good luck or make the weather fine on account

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customs in Morocco are found in Mouliéras, *Une Tribu Zénète anti-musulmane au Maroc* (*les Zkara*) (Paris, 1905), pp. 82-96; *Idem*, *Le Maroc Inconnu*, i. *Exploration du Rif* (Oran, 1895), pp. 67, 68, 115; ii. *Exploration des Djebala* (Oran, 1899), pp. 494-499; and in some other books mentioned in M. Doutté's bibliography on the subject in his *Merrâkech*, p. 331 *sq.* n. 2.

of their white colour, or to facilitate sexual intercourse on account of the fragility of their shells. And if similar ceremonies may thus have sprung from different motives in different cases, it is obvious that also the same ceremony in a given case may be intended to serve more than one purpose; nay, there is no reason to deny the possibility of mixed motives from the beginning. At the same time it is well known that new interpretations are often given of old customs by the people who practise them, and that all ceremonies are apt to survive the ideas in which they have originated. This should not make the field-ethnologist less eager to find out the present meaning attached to the facts he records; whether or no it be the original meaning, it gives us in any case some insight into the ideas of existing people, and these are by themselves no less important subjects of inquiry than those of past generations. But I think that the aim of the field-ethnologist should not be only to observe and describe. Where the meaning of a custom is obscure or lost, his general knowledge of the native mind and its ways of thinking and feeling ought to enable him to make conjectures of much greater value than those suggested by "ethnologists of the study." I thoroughly disagree with the principle which I once heard expressed by the reader of a paper on some savage tribes at a meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute, that the field-anthropologist should aim only at collecting facts and leave it to the anthropologists at home to explain them. But he must, of course, take the utmost care to avoid mixing up his

own interpretations of facts with the observed facts themselves. This is a rule which I have strictly followed in the present treatise. In the detailed accounts of ceremonies or customs which form the substance of the book I have stated only such explanations as I have heard from my native informants (unless I have expressly said otherwise), reserving my own suggestions for the summary which I have given afterwards, mostly at the end of the chapter.

The difficulties in finding the ultimate psychological origins of ceremonies are frequently increased by the obscurity of their historical origins. A custom may spring up spontaneously among a certain people or tribe, or it may be imported from some other people or community; and to be complete, the study of it must be concerned not only with its intrinsic meaning but also with the question whether it has a native origin or not, and, in the latter case, from where it has been introduced. This study of its history is often an extremely difficult, not to say hopeless, task. It requires a profound knowledge not only of the customs of the people which is the subject of the investigation but of those of other peoples with which it has come in contact; and even with such a knowledge it may in many cases be impossible to decide with certainty whether we have to do with a loan or not. Considering how often absolutely identical customs are found among races living in very different parts of the world, under circumstances which exclude all possibility of a common origin, we have to take account of the fact that such

customs may have grown up independently of one another also among peoples who have had much intercourse between themselves or even blended together. In Morocco the civilisation of the Arabic invaders has greatly influenced the Berbers, who have not only adopted their religion but also borrowed from them customs and superstitions falling outside the pale of Islam. Certain superstitious practices, which have been imported by slaves, have obviously a Sudanese origin. Indo-European influence may also have made itself felt; or certain similarities in the customs of North African and European peoples may be due to racial affinity in accordance with the theory of the Mediterranean origin of the Berbers. But any attempt to find the historical sources of the various customs and ideas prevalent in Morocco could never succeed in full, and must for the present be very incomplete, largely owing to our defective knowledge of the Arabs and of the Berbers of other countries. I shall, chiefly in footnotes, make reference to parallel cases among Muhammedans outside Morocco and European peoples, but these notes will be of a very fragmentary character; and the question as to the historical origin of the ceremonies described in this book must, in a large measure, be left for the consideration of future investigators.

The reader will perhaps deem many facts mentioned in this monograph too trivial to deserve the attention of serious students, but then he should remember that they do not appear trivial to the Moors themselves. Their wedding ceremonies are not empty formalities,

but practices which are supposed materially to influence the welfare of individuals, families, and whole communities. And they reveal to us ideas and beliefs which, however foolish they may be, are potent forces in the social life of the people.

In rendering Arabic and Berber words and phrases used in Morocco I shall always endeavour to represent them as they are pronounced by the natives, independently of the written Arabic. As the same word is often pronounced differently in different places, the reader must not accuse me of inconsistency if he finds it spelt sometimes in one way and sometimes in another.

My system of transliterating the Arabic consonants is as follows:—

B represents ب; *d* د, or ذ when pronounced as the English *d*; *ḏ* ذ when pronounced as *th* in *this*; *ḍ* ض, or ظ when pronounced as ض; *ḏ̣* ظ when not pronounced as ض; *f* ف, in Morocco written ڤ; *g* ج or ق, in Morocco written ڧ, when these letters are pronounced as *g* in *grand*, a sound for which the Moors also use a ك with three dots above it; *ġ* غ; *h* ه; *ḥ* ح; *ḫ* خ; *j* ج when pronounced as the French *j*, *ʲj* representing the same letter when pronounced as the English *j*; *k* ك; *l* ل; *m* م; *n* ن; *q* ق (Moorish ف); *r* ر; *s* س; *ṣ* ص; ش *š* (a letter which is also represented by *sh* in names of common occurrence); *t* ت, or ث when pronounced as the English *t*; *ṯ* ث when pronounced as *th* in *thing*; *ṭ* ط; *tˢ* ت or ث, when these letters are

pronounced as *ts*; *w* و when pronounced as *w* in *will*; *y* ى when pronounced as *y* in *yoke*; *z* ز; ' ع.

In some Berber words the following signs are also used :—

g', to represent a sound which to me appeared almost as a strongly pronounced consonantal *y*, but which my Berber scribe from the Aiṭ Sáddĕn, who had a remarkably fine ear, considered to be more closely related to a *g*; *ḫ*, corresponding to the German *ch* in *ich*; and *ṅ*, corresponding to *ng* in *sing*.

The vowels are, at least approximately, to be pronounced as follows :—

A as in Italian; *å* between *a* and *o*; *a̤* between *a* and *ä*; *ä* as *a* in *fat*; *e* as in *met*; *ę* between *e* and *i*; *i* as in *this*; *o* as in *not*; *ŏ* as in German; *u* as in *put*; *û* between *u* and *o*; *ü* between *i* and the French *u*.

The sign – over a vowel indicates that it is long; ^ that it is long and accentuated; ⌣ that it is very short; / that it is accentuated.

The vowel sounds of the words are subject to great variations, not only in different localities, but in the same locality, nay even in the mouth of the same individual — at least if he is asked to repeat the word. These sounds have probably caused me greater trouble than anything else in Morocco. The length of the vowel, in particular, is a very difficult matter, both because it is so changeable and because it allows of so very many different degrees; and equally difficult is it in many cases to distinguish between the presence or absence of a vowel sound before a consonant or between

two consonants—to do so may even be absolutely impossible without the aid of phonetical instruments. I have made use of the signs –, ∧, and ⌣, only in cases when I have distinctly heard the sound pronounced either long or very short, but the omission of any such sign does not *eo ipso* imply that it might not have been used. Some distinguished students of colloquial Arabic have, perhaps under the influence of the written language, applied the symbol for length much more liberally than my ear has allowed me to do, whereas they have been more niggardly than myself in the matter of accentuation. It is true that the accent also, both in Arabic and Berber, is very changeable, and that the / or ∧ over a vowel only indicates that I have heard the syllable in which it occurs accentuated, not that it invariably is so; but that the accent is of hardly less importance than the length of the vowel appears from the fact that vowels which in the written language are marked as long have a distinct tendency to be pronounced short in syllables on which no stress is laid.

CHAPTER I

THE BETROTHAL AND MARRIAGE CONTRACT (ʿAQD EN-NIKĀḤ)

MUHAMMEDAN law regards marriage (*nikāḥ*) as essentially a civil contract, the validity of which depends on proposal on one side and acceptance on the other.

When it is contracted on behalf of a woman who is no longer in her father's power, it is necessary that she should give her consent to it, either in express terms, or, if she be a virgin, at least by implication ; in the latter case her silence or laugh is construed to imply consent.[1] But according to the Mālikī school of Muhammedans, to which the Moors belong, a woman cannot be married without the permission of her *walī* (guardian),[2] who is in the first place her son by a former marriage, in the second her grandson (son's son), in the third her father, and, in default of these,

[1] Ameer Ali, *Mahommedan Law*, ii. (Calcutta, 1908), pp. 334, 335, 343 *sq.*; Milliot, *La Femme musulmane au Maghreb* (Paris, 1910), p. 101 *sq.*; Sīdī Ḫalīl, *Muḫtaṣar*, § 40 (Russell and Abdullah al-Ma'mun Suhrawardy, *'A Manual of the Law of Marriage' from the Mukhtaṣar of Sīdī Khalīl* [London, *s.a.*], p. 12).

[2] Sīdī Ḫalīl, *op. cit.* § 19 (p. 5). A woman of low position, however, is allowed to marry without a *walī* (*ibid.* § 37, p. 11).

one or other of her paternal relatives in the following order: the full brother, nephew, grandfather, uncle, cousin. If she has no such relative, her *walī* is the *qaḍī*.[1] The intervention of a guardian, says Mr. Ameer Ali, is required "to supplement the presumed incapacity of the woman to understand the nature of the contract, to settle the terms and other matters of similar import, and to guard the girl from being victimised by an unscrupulous adventurer, or from marrying a person morally or socially unfitted for her."[2]

If, on the other hand, the woman is still in her father's power, her consent is not required. Among the Ḥanafīs the father's right to marry his daughter without her consent comes to an end when she arrives at puberty,[3] but this is not the case among the Mālikīs. Among them she ceases to be in his power only by his death, or by her being expressly emancipated by him during his lifetime,[4] or by her marriage (unless she has been married before puberty and the marriage has then been dissolved, or the marriage has been dissolved, without having been consummated, before she has lived a year in her husband's dwelling), or, according to some jurists, when she has reached the age of at least thirty.[5]

[1] Sīdī Ḫalīl, *op. cit.* § 32 (p. 9).

[2] Ameer Ali, *op. cit.* p. 335. *Cf.* Milliot, *op. cit.* p. 104.

[3] Milliot, *op. cit.* p. 81.

[4] Emancipation, however, may be only for the purpose of enabling her to select a husband for herself, while her business affairs remain subject to the paternal control. Matrimonial guardianship is not necessarily coincident with guardianship of property and the superintendence thereof (Russell and Abdullah al-Ma'mun Suhrawardy, *op. cit.* p. 7 n. [2]).

[5] Sīdī Ḫalīl, *op. cit.* § 24 *sq.* (p. 6 *sq.*); Milliot, *op. cit.* pp. 79, 80, 87 *sq.*

Among the Sunnīs, to whom the Mālikīs belong, it is required that a proposal or declaration shall precede the acceptance, in order to demonstrate conclusively the intention of the parties.[1] Their jurists recommend the use of the Fātiḥah, or opening chapter of the Koran, at the conclusion of the marriage, but do not, like the Shī'ahs, consider the use of it to be, to some extent, obligatory.[2] In the contract of marriage are embodied the conditions to which the husband binds himself, together with the amount of the dower, the nature of its payment, questions regarding the custody of the children, and other cognate matters.[3] It is not necessary that this contract should be reduced to writing, a verbal contract of marriage and a verbal undertaking for dower being as valid in law as a written contract.[4] But under the Sunnī law it is required that there should be at least two witnesses present to attest the conclusion of the contract—to testify that it was properly entered into and in accordance with the conditions laid down for the contractual performance of marriage;[5] and the Mālikīs

[1] Ameer Ali, *op. cit.* p. 333.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 329. This recommendation is also generally followed. See Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Les Cérémonies du mariage chez les indigènes de l'Algérie* (Paris, 1901), p. 15, and 'Abd El 'Aziz Zenagui, 'Récit en dialecte tlemcénien,' in *Journal Asiatique*, ser. x. vol. iv. (1904), p. 74 (Tlemcen); Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (London, 1896), p. 174, and *Idem*, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages* (London, 1883), p. 231 (Egypt); Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. (Haag, 1889), p. 162; Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah*, ii. (London, 1898), p. 23 (Medina); C. T. Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land* (London, 1906), p. 112; Guys, *Un Derwich algérien en Syrie* (Paris, 1854), p. 200 (Aleppo); Jaffur Shurreef, *Qanoon-e-islam, or the Customs of the Mussulmans of India* (Madras, 1863), p. 61.

[3] Ameer Ali, *op. cit.* p. 328.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 503.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 325.

insist that the witnesses should be "men of established reputation."[1]

In Morocco it is the universal rule that the parents of a girl marry her without asking for her consent.[2] Not infrequently they also arrange the marriage of their son, even though he be grown-up, according to their own taste; and custom may require that he should comply with their wishes.[3] Where the separation between the sexes is so strict as it is in many places in

[1] Sīdī Ḫalīl, *op. cit.* § 5 (p. 2).

[2] In Algeria, according to M. Villot (*Mœurs, coutumes et institutions des indigènes de l'Algérie* [Alger, 1888], p. 76), "l'indépendance de la jeune fille est nulle dans la pratique." So also in Tunis (Sellami, 'La Femme musulmane,' in *Revue Tunisienne*, iii. [1896], p. 435), and many parts of Palestine (Klein, 'Mittheilungen über Leben, Sitten und Gebräuche der Fellachen in Palästina,' in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, vi. [1883], p. 88 *sq.*), the girl has no voice in the matter. But the Bedawin of the desert "differ entirely from all Mohammedan natives of Palestine in allowing their girls to accept or reject a proposal" (Robinson Lees, *The Witness of the Wilderness* [London, 1909], p. 120). Among the Aeneze the girl's wishes are consulted, and it is never supposed that she should be compelled to marry against her inclination (Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys* [London, 1830], p. 61). In Mecca "die Jungfrau wird nur selten zur Heirath genöthigt; es geziemt sich aber durchaus, dass sie sich aufführt, als fügte sie sich den Plänen ihres Vaters nur aus Gehorsam" (Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* ii. 157). Of the ancient Arabs Wellhausen ('Die Ehe bei den Arabern,' in *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1893, no. 11, p. 431 *sq.*) writes:—"Der Valî, d.i. der Vater, Bruder oder Vetter der Braut, unter dessen Mund (Vilâ) sie steht, verlobt sie. . . . Natürlich wird oft die Tochter, von liebenden Eltern, gefragt, ob sie den Freier haben will."

[3] Among the Arabs of Moab, "en vertu du pouvoir presque absolu du père dans la famille, on s'accorde à lui reconnaître la faculté de disposer de l'avenir de ses enfants. C'est en effet le père du jeune homme qui traite directement avec le père de la jeune fille. . . . S'il s'agit du mariage d'un jeune garçon, très souvent les conditions sont arrêtées entre les parents à son insu, sans qu'il ait été consulté et parfois il ne connaît même pas sa future épouse. Mais dès qu'il atteint l'âge de dix-sept ou dix-huit ans, il commence à faire valoir ses droits, et on est obligé de tenir compte de sa volonté. S'il déclare fermement qu'il ne veut pas de tel parti proposé, malgré toutes les combinaisons antérieures et les espérances des parents, le mariage n'aura point lieu" (Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* [Paris, 1908], p. 43). In Mekka "es kommt vor, dass der Jüngling sich zu den durch seinen Vater vorgenommenen Verhandlungen wegen seiner Ehe ziemlich passiv verhält, obgleich kein Zwang ausgeübt wird" (Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* ii. 157).

Morocco, this interference on the part of the parents can hardly be felt as a burden by the young man, especially as he can readily divorce a wife whom he does not like; and for the girl it would be no easy matter to choose between suitors whom she does not know. In tribes where the father actually sells his daughter his disposal of her is naturally influenced by the price offered, but elsewhere also her marriage affects his own interests as well as hers. In a country like Morocco family connections are of great importance, not only for a person's social position but even for his safety.

Whether the initiative in the matter is taken by the young man himself or his parents, the proposal is not made by him nor, generally, by his father, but by some influential man or friends, who have been asked to act as mediators.[1] These are called in Arabic *ḫaṭṭâbīn*, sing. *ḫâṭṭab*, and the proposal is called *ḫôṭba*. Women

[1] Among the ancient Arabs, also, the suitor often made use of a mediator (Wellhausen, *loc. cit.* p. 433 n. 1). In Cairo, according to Burckhardt (*Arabic Proverbs* [London, 1830], p. 113), "when a girl is to be asked in matrimony, a friend or relation, or the sheikh of the young man (who has instructed him in reading the Koran), goes to the girl's father and makes a bargain for her." Among the Touareg the proposal is made by a holy man or some other important person (Bissuel, *Les Touareg du Nord*, p. 105, quoted by Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.* p. 11 n.). In ancient India "das Anhalten um die Braut beim Vater oder den sonstigen Verwandten geschah durch besondere Brautwerber, die aus den nächsten Anverwandten des Bräutigams genommen wurden" (Haas, 'Die Heirathsgebräuche der alten Inder,' in Weber's *Indische Studien*, v. (1862), p. 291. See also *ibid.* pp. 181, 236, 276, 288, 292, 293, 380, 411; Winternitz, 'Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell,' in *Denkschriften der Kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Classe*, xl. (Wien, 1892), pp. 21, 39 *sq.*). Similar customs have prevailed, or still prevail, in Europe (Weinhold, *Die deutschen Frauen in dem Mittelalter*, i. (Wien, 1882), p. 316 *sqq.*; v. Schroeder, *Die Hochzeitsbräuche der Esten und einiger andrer finnisch-ugrischer Völkerschaften, in Vergleichung mit denen der indogermanischen Völker* (Berlin, 1888), p. 32 *sqq.* Sartori, *Sitte und Brauch*, i. (Leipzig, 1910), p. 52.

friends are also, in many cases, busy with the preliminary arrangements; but the professional *ḫaṭṭâba*, or female match-maker, though not unknown in Morocco, plays there a less important *rôle* than in some other parts of the Muhammedan world, being chiefly employed by men without a family.[1] The *fiancé* is called in Arabic *mmêllek* and the *fiancée*, *mmêllka*.

After these general remarks I shall now pass to more detailed accounts of practices and ceremonies connected with the betrothal and marriage contract in various tribes and places in Morocco. These accounts refer to unions between young people whose parents are still alive. They illustrate one of the chief characteristics of the Moors—their fondness of having recourse to proxies and mediators whenever there is a possibility of refusal or dissent, and their shyness of straightforward questions and plain answers.

At Fez, as soon as a lad has arrived at the age when his parents think he should marry and the father can afford to pay the expenses for his wedding and the new household, they begin to make preparations for his

[1] *Cf.* Salmon, 'Les Mariages musulmans à Tanger,' in *Archives marocaines*, i. (1904), p. 275; Michaux-Bellaire and Salmon, 'El-Qçar el-Kebir,' *ibid.* ii. (1904), no. ii. p. 67. In *An Account of South-West Barbary* (London, 1713), written by a person who had been a slave in Morocco and edited by Ockley, it is said (p. 76):—"The Persons employed to negotiate this weighty Affair, are some antiquated, decrepid Matrons, whose Age secures them from all Suspicion of conversing with our Sex: Upon these they are obliged to repose all Confidence, and to act agreeably to their Measures and Directions, if they intend to bring the Business to any effect; yet they are often so deceitful, out of Favour to their own Sex, or for a small Bribe, as to give large Commendations where they are very ill deserved." For professional female match-makers among the Muhammedans of other countries, see, *e.g.*, Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 224 *sq.* (Egypt); Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, *Observations on the Mussulmauns of India*, i. (London, 1832), p. 350 *sq.*

marriage. After they have found a suitable girl his mother, with some other women of the family, calls on the girl's mother and speaks to her on the subject. She cannot, of course, give an answer before she has consulted her husband, and therefore asks the young man's mother to come back on a certain day. If either she or her husband is opposed to the match, she then makes the excuse that their daughter is going to marry her cousin, even though it be not so; for the Moors prefer telling an untruth to appearing uncivil.[1] If, on the other hand, both parents are in favour of the proposal, she informs the mother of the lad how much money her husband requires for their daughter, and this answer is communicated to the young man's father. Should the sum be much higher than the latter is willing to pay, his wife goes back and tries to get it reduced. If she definitively fails in this, the matter drops; whereas, if there is a fair prospect of success, her husband asks two or more respectable men with *baraka* (holiness) in them—shereefs or scribes—to go with him and negotiate with the girl's father. They call on him, not in his house but in his business place, or workshop, addressing him with the words, *S-salâmu ʿâlikum, ḍaif ăllâh*, "Peace be on you, guest of God"; and ask him to come with them to the mosque. There they broach the question of the price he demands for his daughter, and he mentions a sum, say, three hundred

[1] In Palestine, says the Rev. C. T. Wilson (*op. cit.* p. 108 *sq.*), "even if the proposal be unacceptable, it is, I believe, rarely if ever met by a direct refusal; but in the subsequent negotiations some condition impossible of fulfilment, such as an exorbitant dowry, is required, which puts an end to the matter."

dollars. According to instructions previously given by the lad's father, who himself takes no direct part in the negotiations, his friends make objections and propose a smaller sum, for instance, two hundred dollars, which the girl's father in his turn finds too little; and the result will probably be that the price is fixed at about two hundred and fifty. When this has been settled they all make *fâtᵉḥa*,[1] and the girl's father then goes home to inform his wife of the agreement. The women of the house make a quivering noise,[2] but the girl bashfully hides herself, not seeing her father for several days. Similarly the young man's father tells his wife what has passed, and in his house also the women make the same kind of noise. But the lad himself keeps away from his father. There has never been any conversation at all between them on the matter; and only in a quiet and guarded way does his mother let him understand who will be his wife, without his having ever expressed the slightest wish to

[1] The ceremony of *fâtᵉḥa* consists in the recitation of a prayer with the hands stretched out and the palms turned upwards. Dr. Vassel (*Über marokkanische Processpraxis* [Sonderabdruck aus den Mittheilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin, Jahrg. v. Abth. ii., 1902], p. 19) says that it should not be confounded with the *fâtiḥa*, or opening chapter, of the Koran. Yet there can be little doubt that it has its name from that chapter, even though it does not in Morocco necessarily include a recitation of it. See Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger* (Paris, 1911), p. 165 n. 3; Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* ii. 35, especially n. 2.

[2] This noise is in Arabic called *zġârīt* and in Berber *taġurit* (Shlöḥ), *tiġurâṭin* (Aiṭ Yúsi), *asġurṭ* (Aiṭ Sáddĕn), *tililau* (Ait Waráin), *timuliṭ* (Aṭ Ubáḫṭi), or *sriwriwẹn* (Aiṭ Wäryâġäl). Dr. Jansen ('Mitteilungen über die Juden in Marroko,' in *Globus*, lxxi. [1897], p. 360 n. 7) says that it "durch äusserst schnelle, horizontale oder seitliche Bewegung der Zungenspitze zwischen den Lippenwinkeln hervorgebracht wird, wobei ein schriller Trillerlaut entsteht, der fast wie ein hundertmal äusserst schnell wiederholtes 'lü' klingt . . . (etwa in der Tonhöhe des zweigestrichenen f oder fis), ungefähr ½ bis ¾ Minute (solange der Atem vorhält) dauert und plötzlich mit einem sehr kurzen, sich wie '. . . it' anhörenden Abschnapp-Laute zum dreigestrichenen c oder cis hinaufschnellend schliesst."

marry. He has never seen the girl chosen for him, unless she be his cousin.

A few days after the proposal has been accepted some eight or ten women of the young man's family or kin, including his mother, go to visit the girl's mother, who entertains them with tea, food, and honey, the object of the honey being to make the daughter "sweet" to the family of her future husband so that there shall be no quarrel between them.[1] This feast, in which also other women besides her mother partake, is called *kémlet l-aʿṭîya*, because "the giving away" of her has now come to an end. The girl is not present on this occasion, but hides herself so as not to be seen.

On the following Friday the fathers of the young man and girl, together with a number of friends, meet at the time for the midday or afternoon prayer at some shrine, by preference that of Mûlăi Idris, or in the *zâwia* of the fraternity to which the young man's father belongs. After prayer the following ceremony, called *fâtḥa*, is performed. When the young man's father and his party are assembled together in one place and the girl's father and his party in another place close by, a man of the former party—by preference the family barber, and in no case the young man's father—

[1] Although honey is thus used before a wedding as a charm for good luck, it is never served at the wedding itself, the partaking of it being a regular feature of a funeral. (In ancient Greece honey played a prominent part in the cult of the dead; see Samter, *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer* [Berlin, 1901], p. 84.) The bridegroom, however, not infrequently makes use of honey as an aphrodisiac. *Cf.* Doutté, *Merrâkech* (Paris, 1905), p. 335:—"Le miel, sauf certains cas spéciaux, est souvent chez les Musulmans et spécialement chez les Marocains, considéré comme étant de mauvais augure et même si, durant la noce, on en fait circuler, on évite qu'il passe sous les yeux de la jeune mariée."

goes and stands between the groups, who now form a ring round him. He says, *Fâtṣ̣a*, and stretches out his hands in the usual manner with the palms turned upwards; and all the men round him follow his example. With his hands still in this position he looks round and lets his eyes rest on some shereef or other man with *baraka* in him and asks him to finish the ceremony, saying to him, *Ḥṭ̣em yā sîdi.* The man thus addressed moves his hands over his face and chest, kissing them lightly as they pass his mouth, and the same gesture is repeated by everybody present, the person in the centre saying, *L-ḥamdû li llâhi rábbi l-ʿálamīn*, "Thanks be to God, Lord of the worlds." Then the hands are again stretched out and the former ceremony is repeated. The men belonging to the party of the young man's father go to the latter and give him their right hand, saying, *Mbârăk mesʿûd*, "Be blessed and lucky," to which he answers, *Alláh ibârĕk fik*, "May God bless you." The men of the other party do the same to the girl's father. Then the two fathers receive a similar homage from the men of the opposite party, after which they all go away.

In the afternoon of that day the young man sends some new clothing to his future wife, and she at sunset sends to him small tables (*miâdi*) with sugar, fresh butter, milk, mint (*nâʿna*), *kaʿb ġzel* (crescents made of an icing of pounded almonds, sugar, and cinnamon, covered with an extremely thin coat of pastry), and *ġrîba* (buns made of flour, sugar, and butter). When these tables are returned the young man must put on

one of them a fine garment as a present to his betrothed. In the evening a feast is given in his father's house, with musicians and invited guests. After supper so-called *ngâgef*—free negresses whose business is to assist women on festive occasions—dress up the young man as a bride with garments which they have brought with them. He is then seated on cushions placed on a mattress opposite the door, and sits there with his eyes closed as if he were a bride. One of the *ngâgef* sings:—*Fâinkum yā ṣḥāb lă-ʿrûs?* "Where are you, O friends of the bridegroom?" The young man's friends now enter the room. A *nggâfa* gives him some milk to drink, and another, with a plate of dates in her hand, puts into his mouth a date. After this they give milk and a date to each of his friends, who in their turn put money on his forehead, fixing it there with spittle, while the women in the upper floor of the house, as well as the *ngâgef*, make a quivering noise. The money is immediately removed from the young man's forehead by one of the latter.[1] The milk offered on this occasion is supposed to make his life "white," while the dates represent wealth, in accordance with the common blessing, *Allâh iʿâmmar u iʿâmmar*, "May God give dates and plenty" (literally "fill"). This occasion is called *lîlĕtˢ fâtˢḥa*, "the evening of *fâtˢḥa*."

No native explanation of the custom of dressing up

[1] "The custom of sticking coins to the forehead of a bridegroom is common to several races of the East, amongst others to the Turcomans, who inhabit the villages round Mosul" (Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* [London, 1853], p. 206).

the young man as a bride has been given to me. Disguises at marriages have been found in various other countries,[1] and many writers have suggested that their object is to deceive malignant spirits who lie in wait for the young couple at this season.[2] According to Mr. Crawley's theory of "inoculation," on the other hand, the bride or bridegroom assumes the dress of the opposite sex in order to lessen the sexual danger by wearing the same kind of clothes as "the loved and dreaded person."[3] The former explanation can hardly apply to the Fez custom of dressing up the young man *as a bride*, since the bride is supposed to be haunted by evil spirits as much as, or even more than,

[1] See v. Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 68 *sqq.*; Crawley, *The Mystic Rose* (London, 1902), p. 371 *sq.*; Farnell, 'Sociological Hypotheses concerning the Position of Women in Ancient Religion,' in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, vii. (1904), pp. 75, 89 *sq.*; Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, iv. (London, 1910), p. 255 *sq.*; Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum* (Giessen, 1910), p. 92; Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod* (Leipzig & Berlin, 1911), p. 91 *sqq.* In ancient Cos, according to Plutarch (*Quaestiones Graecae*, 58), the bridegroom was dressed in women's clothes when he received his bride; whilst in Sparta, after the bride had been carried off by her husband, "the bridesmaid received her, cut her hair close to her head, dressed her in a man's cloak and shoes, and placed her upon a couch in a dark chamber," where she had to wait for the entrance of the bridegroom (*idem*, *Lycurgus*, xv. 4). Among the Egyptian Jews in the Middle Ages the bridegroom "donned feminine attire, and the youths wore girls' clothes and put the favourite henna dye on their finger-nails," whilst "the bride wore a helmet and, sword in hand, led the procession and the dance" (Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* [London, 1896], p. 193). Among the people of Southern Celebes the bridegroom at one stage of the proceedings puts on the garments which have just been put off by the bride (Matthes, *Bijdragen tot de Ethnologie van Zuid-Celebes* ['s Gravenhage, 1875], p. 35). Among the Masai in Eastern Africa, according to Thomson (*Through Masai Land* [London, 1887], p. 258), the bridegroom had to wear the garment of a girl for one month.

[2] Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* (München, 1906), p. 903; Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung mit Ausschluss der attischen* (Leipzig, 1906), p. 372; Schwally, *Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel* (Leipzig, 1901), p. 76; Reinach, *Cultes, mythes et religions*, i. (Paris, 1905), p. 116; Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 93 *sqq.*; Frazer, *op. cit.* iv. 257.

[3] Crawley, *op. cit.* p. 371 *sq.*

the bridegroom himself; but it better agrees with Mr. Crawley's theory, according to which the greatest possible assimilation between the bride and bridegroom would best serve the purpose of neutralising the sexual danger. We shall see that in some country places in Morocco the bride on her part imitates the appearance of a man by wearing her shawl thrown over her left shoulder, or leaving her old home clad in a man's cloak, or having designs resembling whiskers painted on her face. These customs may with more reason be supposed to have been intended as means of protection against dangerous spirits or, especially, against the evil eye. And this is in a still higher degree the case with the assumption or imitation of the costume of the bride or bridegroom by other persons than the principals at the ceremony,[1] a practice which, as will be seen, is also met with in Moorish wedding ceremonies.

In the afternoon of the day of *fâtsḥa* the girl goes to the hot bath, and in the evening her parents give a feast in their house, to which have been invited female relatives. Besides these women guests, called *ḥṭâṭar* (sing. *ḥaṭṭâra*), there are also present *ngâgef* and *ṭabbâlats* (female musicians). The girl is dressed up in a fine costume, which the *ngâgef* brought with them, and is then seated on cushions on a mattress opposite the door. Exactly as in the case of her betrothed, and with a similar purpose in view, a *nggâfa* gives her some milk to drink, and another, with a plate

[1] *Cf.* Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, ii. (Westminster, 1896), p. 8; Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 75; Frazer, *op. cit.* iv. 256 *sq.*

of dates in her hand, puts into her mouth a date. After this they give milk and a date to each one of the *ḥṭâṭar*, and the latter decorate the girl's forehead with silver coins, which are taken by the *ngâgef*.

It should be added that if the parents of a girl refuse to give her away in marriage to a man who is very anxious to have her and makes repeated attempts to induce them to yield to his wishes, she is supposed to remain unmarried on account of a curse pronounced by the unsuccessful suitor until the spell is removed from her in the following manner. Her chemise is given to the *mûdden* on a Friday to be taken up to the minaret (*ṣôm'a*) at ten o'clock, when the blue flag is to be changed for the white. He hoists the chemise instead of the latter, lets it remain hoisted till the beginning of the midday prayer, and then returns it to the girl, who puts it on the same day. If this does not prove effective, some member of her family brings a little earth from seven different places, namely, the entrance of a mill, a public oven, a public hot bath, a mosque, the room where the judge pronounces his sentences (*lĕ-mḥâkma del-qâḍi*), a public inn (*fĕndaq*), and some place where two streets cross—these places being chosen because they are trodden on by many men. Then water is brought from the sanctuaries of seven saints. Some of it is drunk by the girl, with another portion she washes her face, and what remains is mixed with the earth, which, when dried, is enveloped in a small piece of rag and hung on her dress. It is

believed that the holy water will make her look very attractive, and that she will soon marry.

In Andjra a young man who wants to marry a certain girl mentions it to his uncle or aunt, in order that it shall be made known to his parents. If the latter are opposed to the match, and refuse to make arrangements for it, the son may nevertheless carry out his wishes by threatening to commit some disreputable act which would cause them trouble. But it may also be that the parents take the first step and let the son know of their plans through somebody else. If he is unwilling, the matter drops, whereas, if he agrees, he bashfully expresses his consent by the phrase, *Hûma i'drfu*, "They know best." Then his mother calls on the girl's mother to tell her of the contemplated proposal. If the latter is against it, she answers that her daughter is already engaged, whether she be so or not; whereas a *Marḥabâ bikum*, "Be welcome," is a sure sign that she is in favour of the match. The two mothers agree as to the day when the proposal is to be made, and there can now be little doubt that it will be accepted, since the marriage of a girl is in most cases practically arranged by her mother. On the appointed day the young man's father, in the company of the *fqī* (schoolmaster) of the village and two other respectable men, pays a visit to the girl's father, taking with him some candles and sugar, or salt butter and honey. They greet him with the phrase, *Ḍaif nă llâh*, "[I

am] the guest of God" ; to which he answers, *Marḥabâ bikum*, "Be welcome." After he has entertained them with tea and food, the *fqī* asks him if he is aware of the nature of their errand. "You are welcome," he says, "whatever your errand be." The *fqī* explains the object of their visit, to which the girl's father replies, *U s-salậm, ȧna aʿṭīʿâ*[1] *lu lla aʿṭahâ lu llah*, "Well and good, I have given[1] her to him if God has given her to him." The *fqī* asks the father what his conditions are. The latter says, "The custom which the people follow also we shall follow." He goes and consults his wife, and then answers the *fqī's* questions in accordance with her advice. When the *fqī* asks the amount of the *ṣdaq*, the father answers, for example, forty dollars. The *fqī* maintains that it is too much, and offers, say, thirty ; and whatever he proposes will be accepted. When they have agreed as to the *ṣdaq* the *fqī* asks, "What else do you want?"—The father answers, "I want the *ḥḍîya* (present)."—The *fqī*: "What will that be?"—The father : "A big bullock."—The *fqī* : "Oh not a very big one."—The father : "A big jar (*qdšʿa*) of salt butter."—The *fqī* : "A small one will suffice."—The father : "A jar (*ṭanʿdjîya*) of oil."—The *fqī*: "Oh no, half a jar."—The father : "Thirty *mudd* of corn."—The *fqī* : "Only fifteen."—The father : "Ten pairs of slippers" (intended both for the girl and other members of the family).—The *fqī*: "Only five."—It is also agreed that the girl shall have

[1] *Cf. Hidāyah*, English translation, i. 72 (quoted by Ameer Ali, *op. cit.* ii. 329) :—"Marriage is contracted by means of declaration and consent, both expressed *in the preterite*."

a *ḥâyĕk* or two for wear, a carpet (*zarbîya*), a wooden trunk (*ṣŏndûq*), a mirror (*mrā*), a mattress (*mḍârrba*), and bed-clothes, which are all regarded as part of the *ṣdaq* to be mentioned in the written contract. When an agreement has been arrived at, *fâtʿḥa* is made, the *fqī* taking the lead. This day is called *nhār l-kmäl*, "the day of finishing."

A day or two afterwards the men of the young man's village go to his house, fire off three volleys of gunpowder in the yard, and wish his parents good luck with the common phrase, *Ăllâh ikĕmmel bĕ l-ḫâir!* They are served with tea and *kŭsksu*; but before the meal the bachelors, in order to get good entertainment, say to the young man's mother :—"O so-and-so, aunt so-and-so, we shall now see how your son's wedding will be. We are happy that he is going to marry. May God let us live and enjoy quietness (*Ăllâh yäḥyîna u ihännîna*) till then, if God will." This day is called *nhār l-mâʿmla*, and the feast given in the *fiancé's* house is called *l-mläk*. If no feast is given, the bachelors of the village catch hold of the young man, put him into a kind of hammock, which they suspend between two trees, and leave him there till he entertains them with a meal.

At every religious feast the young man sends his betrothed a silk kerchief (*sĕbnîya*) and some henna, and at the Great Feast a sheep and some salt butter as well, receiving a garment in return.[1]

[1] Among the Muhammedans of India the betrothed persons exchange presents on the day of the Great Feast, and indeed at any religious feast which may occur before their wedding (Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, *op. cit.* i. 366).

If a young man cannot get the girl whom he wants to marry, the other young men of the village tease him by firing off their guns opposite his house and crying out:—*Ṭakkûk ṭakkûk, qâlet ˢ lâwah, flăn ma narḍâwah, had aḫór arâwah*, "Cuckoo, cuckoo, she said No, we do not approve of so-and-so, bring somebody else." Out of shame the disappointed lover leaves the village for some time or confines himself to his house for several days. A similar custom prevails in the mountain tribe Jbel lă-Ḥbíb, where I heard the cries of the young men on two successive evenings.

Among the Ulâd Bu-ʿĂzîz a young man who wants to marry generally asks his mother for her advice. If more than one girl is thought of and it seems difficult to decide who is the most suitable, the mother takes as many wooden pins as there are girls, each of whom is represented by a pin, and asks some man or lad to draw one so as to find out the best bride for her son. The proposal is made through a shereef or the *šeḫ*, or chief of the village, who, accompanied by a few other influential villagers, pays a visit to the girl's father. His greeting, *Ḍaif ăllâh*, "[I am] the guest of God," is answered by the latter with the following words:—*Márḥăba bi ḍaif ăllâh; bérku ḥátta tâklu, ifárrăj ăllâh*, "Be welcome guest of God; sit down till you have eaten, God will disperse all troubles." The spokesman of the visiting party says that they will sit down if there is reason for doing

so, but that they otherwise are going away. If the girl's father, who of course knows their errand, is unwilling to give his daughter in marriage to the young man, he either tells them so in plain words or, if he wants to be civil, says that he will give her if his conditions are accepted. In this case the men go away as soon as they have partaken of the food offered them; whereas if he consents, declaring that though his daughter is dear to him they are dearer still, the agreement is confirmed by a *fâṭḥa* after the meal of *sĕksu* which they eat together.

When the betrothal has been made, the parents of the young man, in company with the married women of the village, as well as male friends, take to the girl's family a present consisting of a sheep or bullock, wheat, and salt butter. When taking it there the women make their usual quivering noise, called *zġḍ̂rīt*, which is also the name given to the present. After their arrival they grind the wheat, and while this is going on they again make their quivering noise, in which the other women who are present join. Underneath the mill is put a silver coin, which has been sent by the young man to make things "white" or lucky, and which is afterwards taken by the girl or her mother. When the grinding is finished, the young man's father gives to the girl's mother a small sum of money—a dollar or even less—to be distributed among all the women present, as also the other women in the village. This money is called *muzânt z-zġḍ̂rīt*, a *muzâna* being an imaginary Moorish coin not even

worth a farthing. Before leaving, the visiting party are entertained with a meal. The young man himself did not go with them. If his betrothed is living in another village he has probably never seen her, but only chosen her on his mother's or sister's recommendation.

The next market-day the young man buys some meat, dates, henna, and cotton- and silk-stuff to present to his betrothed. He now goes himself to her village, accompanied by his bachelor friends, but does not enter her tent. In return for this present, which is called *t-ṭabiêḍa*, the girl sends the young men a dish of *rfêsa*—chickens boiled with onions, black pepper, salt, and butter, and served with pieces of thin cakes called *rġaif*—or, if she is of a poor family, only *sĕksu* with meat laid on the top. When the young man and his friends have finished their meal, they leave in the empty dish (*gâṣ'a*) some money, which is taken by the girl's mother to be spent on her daughter's *trousseau*. This visit, with its presents and entertainment, is repeated at every religious feast till the wedding is celebrated—it may be for a year or two, or, if the girl is very young, even longer. Good parents, I was told, marry their daughters while still in their childhood; and fathers not infrequently marry their sons when they are fifteen or sixteen years of age. Early marriages are looked upon with favour as preventing sexual irregularities.

Among the Arabs of the Ḥiâina, if a father wants

to marry his son to a certain girl, the youth makes no objection, but submits; he is not, however, informed of the matter by his father, but hears about it from others. When the father goes to make the proposal, he takes with him a shereef to act as mediator, and should the girl's father show himself unwilling to give his daughter in marriage, the other male relatives of the girl are by presents, the so-called *réšwa* ("bribe"), induced to prevail upon him to change his mind. Sometimes a sacrifice is resorted to as a means of persuasion. In the Ḥiáina, also, the betrothal is followed by a *fâtˢḥa*, and subsequently a feast called *z-zġârītˢ* is held in the house of the girl's father.

From Arabic-speaking natives we shall pass to Berber-speaking tribes, beginning with some belonging to the group of the Bråber.

Among the Aiṯ Sádděn a father not infrequently arranges his son's marriage before the latter has reached the age of puberty, particularly in the case of an only son. The girl, who may be considerably older than her betrothed, is then taken to the father's home, though the wedding is only celebrated when the boy becomes of age; and should she get with child before that occasion, it is assumed that the young man, and nobody else, is the father. Much more often, however, the marriage contract is made when the son is grown-up. He may then himself take the first step by asking somebody to inform his father of his desire to marry a certain girl. Among the Aiṯ Sádděn all the

young men and women of a village are well acquainted with each other. In moonlight nights they are in the habit of dancing the *aḥeiḍus* together, and on Fridays, when the women and girls go to fetch fuel from the thicket, the young men frequently join them. The latter also know girls from other villages, whom they have met at markets or weddings, or whose acquaintance they made when they, as schoolboys in their holidays, went about from village to village with one or two donkeys, begging corn, butter, eggs, and money to give to their schoolmaster. The young man may also speak to his mother about his love, but would never mention it directly to his father. If either the latter or the girl's father objects to the match, the young couple may carry through their will by eloping to another village or tribe, not to come back until their marriage is agreed to. The wedding is then celebrated on their return, or at all events the villagers are entertained with a dish of *ṯṯâm* (*sĕksu*) in the mosque as a formal announcement of the marriage. But if the son is strong and the father powerless, no notice is taken of the latter's opposition, and a mother's wish is not regarded at all. These Berbers have little respect for their parents, differing in this point from many Arabic-speaking tribes; it is by no means uncommon among them that a son beats his mother and fights with his father.

The proper custom, however, is that the father chooses a wife even for his grown-up son. He does so without saying a word about it to the young man,

who only learns from his mother what is going on; and if he has not already himself made his choice, he quietly puts up with his father's decision. The latter sends his wife and some other women to the house or tent of the girl's family to let her mother know his designs. These women are called *ṯimsúṯrin*, corresponding to the Arabic *ḫaṭṭâbat*. The girl's mother must, of course, speak to her husband about the matter, whereas the daughter's own wishes are not considered at all. Yet it lies in her power to influence the proceedings. If she is fond of the young man, she dresses herself in fine clothes and sits down with the *ṯimsúṯrin*, trying to be as attractive as possible; on t' 'ther hand, if she dislikes him, she makes use of bad and ominous words which should not be mentioned on this occasion,[1] or she behaves like a woman at a funeral, scratching her face and dirtying herself with cowdung. The result of this may be that no further steps are taken, for fear lest a marriage arranged under such circumstances should be unlucky. Moreover, it has sometimes happened that the girl has prevented the proposed marriage by running away on this occasion, or even on the very day of the intended wedding.

If the girl's mother is in favour of the match, she endeavours to influence her husband by singing the

[1] In Morocco, as elsewhere, certain words must be avoided on certain occasions. Thus the Aiṯ Sáddĕn insist that in the morning, or in the presence of a shereef, an earthenware pan (*afan* or, if small, *ṯäfanṯ*) shall be called *úmlil* or *ṯúmlilṯ* ("white"), and an earthenware kettle (*lmá'un*) *ṯúmlilṯ*; and that in the morning a sewing-needle (*ṯäsärutt*) shall be called *ṯälmĕfṯâḥt* ("small opener"), a big needle (*issĭgᵘni*) *almĕfṯâḥ* ("opener"), tar (*llâṯoḥ*) *búrbäḥ* ("disposer of profit"), a hedgehog (*insi*) *amĕrbŏḥ* ("bringer of profit"), and a fox (*iḳ'äb*) *wârṣṣbaḥ* ("one who has no morning").

praise of the young man and his family; and if he nevertheless objects to the proposal, she lets the *ṯimsúṯrin* understand what means should be tried to induce him to give in. She may advise the young man's father to send a shereef to persuade him to change his mind, or she may recommend making *'ar* upon him. In the latter case the young man's father, accompanied by another man, by preference the *fqī* of the village or the chief of the huntsmen (*ssḛḥ nă̊-rrma*), goes very early in the morning outside the house of the girl's family and secretly sacrifices there an animal. This is not meant as a present, but as a means of compulsion,[1] and the animal is consequently given away by the girl's father, who understands whence it came. If he at last is willing to give his daughter in marriage to the young man, his wife informs the latter's family about it, and the marriage arrangements now begin in earnest.

The young man's father and some respected friends of his, or, as is often the case, the latter alone, pay a visit to the girl's father, who, in their honour, gives a feast with many invited guests. These negotiators are collectively called *lĕmšḛḥṯ*. After eating, they mention their errand, and the bride-price (*ṣṣḍaq*) is discussed. The host states the sum he wants for his daughter, one of the *lĕmšḛḥṯ* objects to it as being too high, but after some bargaining an agreement is arrived at; no *fâṯḥa*, however, is made on this occasion.

[1] *L-'ar* acts as a means of compulsion because it is considered to transfer a conditional curse to the person on whom it is made (see Westermarck, '*L'âr*, or the Transference of Conditional Curses in Morocco,' in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor* [Oxford, 1907], p. 361 *sqq.*).

Even though the young man's father himself be present, the bargain is carried on by some of the other men; and if he is known to be an excitable person, he is persuaded not to come at all. After the negotiations are ended, he entertains the *lĕmšḗḫt* in his house with a good meal, and the day is fixed for another visit to the girl's father. The amount of the *ṣṣḍaq* is then somewhat reduced by the *lĕmšḗḫt* claiming a "commission," which is never received by them, but simply deducted from the sum to be paid. This "commission" may be only four or five dollars, but it may also be ten or even twenty. On this occasion part of the *ṣṣḍaq* is paid to the girl's father, though it may be only a few dollars, and he entertains his guests, among whom are also the leading men of his own village, with a meal. After this *fâṭḥa* is made, one of the *lĕmšḗḫt* calling down the usual blessings; and from this the whole ceremony has got the name *lfâṭḥa*. The presence of the young man's father is not necessary.

Although the matter is now settled there is still a formal betrothal made at the so-called *asĝûrt*, which takes place some time afterwards—it may be a few days only, or it may be even a whole year—when the young man's father is prepared to pay the rest of the *ṣṣḍaq* and other necessary expenses. A visit is then again paid to the girl's father by the *lĕmšḗḫt*, who are this time accompanied not only by the young man's father, if he cares to go, but by his mother, brothers, and sisters, and other men and women from his village whether they be his relatives or not. They take with

them a considerable quantity of flour and salt butter, a live sheep, one or two loaves of sugar, a packet of candles, some henna, a cotton kerchief (*ălḥṭạn*), and a chemise (*tišâmir*). The sheep is slaughtered on their arrival; food is prepared by the women of the party, assisted by those of the girl's family; and in the evening a meal is served, to which are invited sometimes a few men of the village only, sometimes a large number of people, including women and children. After the meal a man who is related to the girl—not, however, her father, whom she avoids during these ḍays—goes to her and suggests that she shall appoint him to be her *luḫîl* (from the Arabic *l-ūkîl*), or deputy, and between him and the man whom her betrothed has previously chosen as his *luḫîl*[1] the following dialogue now takes place:

The young man's *luḫîl* (A) calls out to the girl's *luḫîl*: *A ḥạn, a ḥạn, a ḥạn*, "O so-and-so, O so-and-so, O so-and-so" (mentioning the name of the girl's father, in whose place the girl's *luḫîl* is acting). The girl's *luḫîl* (B) answers: *N'am, n'am, n'am*, "Yes, yes, yes."—A: *Ḍūf llăh, ḍūf llăh, ḍūf llăh*, "[I am] the guest of God, [I am] the guest of God, [I am] the guest of God."—B: *Marḥăbá, marḥăbá, marḥăbá ḍūf llăh*, "Be welcome, be welcome, be welcome guest of God."—A: *Ṭlabt lek, ṭlabt lek, ṭlabt mĕn ăllăh u mĕnnĕk*, "I have asked you, I have asked you, I have asked from God and from you."—B: *A'ṭêt lek, a'ṭêt lek, a'ṭêt lek ila tqbel šărṭi*, "I have given

[1] The *luḫîl*, however, is not always chosen by the young man or girl whom he represents, but his part may, without special appointment, be taken by some man who knows the formalities of the ceremony.

you, I have given you, I have given you if you accept my condition."—A: *Qbelt, qbelt, qbelt û rḍit*, "I have accepted, I have accepted, I have accepted and agreed."—B: *Mîat ʿabd*, "A hundred slaves."—A: *Nʿam*, "Yes."—B: *Mîat ʿŏuda*, "A hundred mares."—A: *Nʿam*, "Yes."—B: *Mîat nâʿja*, "A hundred ewes."—A: *Nʿam*, "Yes."—B: *Mîat bégra*, "A hundred cows."—A: *Nʿam*, "Yes."—B: *Mîat bâġla*, "A hundred mules."—A: *Nʿam*, "Yes"; and so forth. After this the money is counted out, but a small portion of the *ṣṣḍaq* may still be left unpaid till the bride is fetched from her home, in case some reliable person undertakes to stand security. A man now fires off his gun as a signal for the three consecutive *ṭiġŭrâṭin*, or quivering sounds, made either by one of the women or by three simultaneously, which complete the ceremony. It is from this quivering noise, which the Aiṭ Sâddĕn call *asġûrṭ*, that the whole ceremony has got its name.

Among the Aiṭ Nḏēr parents choose wives for their sons without their knowledge. The son hears of the news from others, unless his own suspicion has led him to find out the truth. If he has no objection to the match, he lets things take their course; whereas in the opposite case his parents will hear of his dissatisfaction from some friend, to whom he also perchance has mentioned the girl he wishes to marry. Among the Aiṭ Nḏēr the lads and girls of the same neighbourhood are well acquainted with each other, and it may be that the girl whom the young man wants for wife has already

become *enceinte* by him. A son never mentions to his parents his desire to marry; he may speak about it to a friend, who then makes his father aware of his wishes, but in most cases he is even ashamed of doing this. Yet he is not married against his own will. It is different with a daughter; she is informed of her future marriage by her mother, and is obliged to obey.

Before the parents of the young man make their choice, the mother visits one or more tents in which there are marriageable girls, to look at them and see how the family lives. When she has found a girl whom she regards as a suitable partner for her son, the father in his turn goes to the tent to make investigations for himself. If he also is satisfied with the girl, he asks her father to come with him to a place outside the village where he makes the proposal. The girl's father may at once show his inclination to give his daughter in marriage, but often enough he refuses to do so in the beginning, saying as an excuse that her mother does not want it. But though the proposal be not accepted, the young man's father does not give up hope. He is likely to come back accompanied by two other men, and if necessary he will do so time after time. To give more weight to his request he asks a shereef to go with him, and in many cases he sacrifices an animal as *'ar* outside the tent of the girl's father to force him to give in. When the latter appears more or less favourable to the proposal, the bride-price, which has not hitherto been touched upon, is discussed in the presence of

friends. The girl's father asks first how much the other party is willing to give; he, of course, finds the sum which is mentioned too small, and names a higher price. The friends present try to mediate, and the price will be fixed between the sums suggested by the two parties, or else the negotiations may come to a sudden end. If the proposal is accepted, the men of the young man's village visit his father's tent to give their blessings and good wishes. They are entertained with food, and so are, of course, the friends from other villages who on that and following days come there for the same purpose.

Subsequently the young man's father, accompanied by some five or six friends, his wife, and another woman, takes to the girl's parents a sheep, a *mudd* or more of flour, a jar (*ḍqṣri*) containing four or five pounds of salt butter, two loaves of sugar, and some salt, candles, and fuel. They are welcomed by the girl's father, whereas her mother, pretending to be averse to parting with her daughter, does not welcome them until she has been appeased by some money. The two women make a fire and prepare a dish of *aftäl* (*sěksu*) with butter, while the young man's father slaughters the sheep and cuts up the meat, and then invites some of the married men of the village to come and join in the meal which is to be served in the tent. Before, or sometimes after, the meal the young man's father or, if he does not know how to conduct the ceremony, some other man whom he appoints to represent him, stretches out the palms of his hands for *fâṭḥa*,

and the other men follow his example. Then a dialogue takes place between the two fathers, very similar to that at the *asĝûrṛ* of the Aiṭ Sádděn, the girl's father claiming 200 mares, ewes, cows, goats, and male and female slaves for his daughter, and the other party consenting to these conditions. Blessings are called down on everybody concerned, after which one of the women makes a quivering noise, and one of the men fires off one or two shots with his gun.

The Bråber of the Ait Waráin like to marry their children early, even before they have arrived at puberty, partly to keep them from temptations, and partly to increase the strength of the family by having children at a young age. If a son is married in boyhood, he naturally has no voice in the matter; otherwise he may ask a friend to inform his father, or his sister to inform their mother, that he wants to wed a certain girl. If the father is opposed to the match, the son shows his dissatisfaction by refusing to do what he is asked—for example, to tend the cattle or plough—under the pretext that he is unwell, or even by robbing the father of some corn, or money, or a sheep. Should the father resent this by beating the lad, it may happen that the latter shoots him; and in such a case there will be no blood-revenge if the murderer is an only son, or if he has not more than one brother, who naturally would not like to be left alone through avenging his father's death. In short, the grown-up son will himself choose his wife, whereas a daughter must accept the man to

whom her parents decide to marry her, the mother informing her of their decision.

If there is an agreement between father and son as to the choice of a girl, the former goes to her father to discuss the matter. Should he refuse to give his daughter in marriage, the young man's father asks four shereefs to speak on his behalf, and a second refusal would now be looked upon as bad and would hardly occur. After this preliminary arrangement he pays another visit to the girl's father, this time accompanied by his wife and four shereefs, and taking with him two animals loaded with wheat, a large jar (*tâidurt*) containing some thirty pounds of salt butter, and a sheep. On his arrival he slaughters the sheep as *'ar* to make the earlier promise more binding; but this does not prevent the mutton from being served with *sěksu* at a meal in which the neighbours also partake as guests. On this occasion the bride-price (*ṣṣdāq*) is discussed and, after the usual bargaining, settled with the aid of the shereefs. The women make a quivering noise, *tlilau*, which name is therefore given to the whole ceremony; and the girl's father asks one of his friends to fire off his gun as announcement and confirmation of the agreement. *Fâtḥa* is frequently, but not in every case, made on this occasion.

Among the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi parents do not marry their children before the age of puberty, but all marriages are nevertheless arranged by them. If the father and mother disagree on the choice of a wife, the mother, I

was told, manages to carry her wishes through. Accompanied by a female relative she pays a visit to a tent where she thinks there is a suitable girl, taking with her some loaves of bread as a present to the family; and if her expectations are not fulfilled, she goes to another tent on the same errand. In case the young man wants to marry a certain girl, he mentions it to some woman of his family, who then informs his mother about his inclination; but if the mother takes no notice of it, the son is said to have no voice in the matter.

After the girl has been chosen, the young man's father sends four or five respectable men from among his relatives or friends to the girl's parents to act as negotiators. These men, who are called *imaḫḍâbĕn*, tell her parents, both of whom are present on this occasion, that they come on behalf of so-and-so, to propose that they should give their daughter in marriage to his son. The parents express their fears that the young man will not make a good husband, but is likely to beat his wife; to which the *imaḫḍâbĕn* reply that they are quite mistaken—he is a nice fellow, and they ought not to refuse so good a proposal. At last the parents consent, *fâṭḥa* is made, and the company have a meal together.

The young man's father then goes to the tent of the girl's parents, accompanied by the *imaḫḍâbĕn* and a few other men, including the *fqī* of the village, if there is one. He takes with him a sheep, which he slaughters at the entrance of the tent; this is an *ʿâr*-sacrifice,

but the animal is nevertheless afterwards eaten by the company. They are received with greetings of welcome, after which business is discussed, though in a quite formal manner. The girl's father asks the young man's father how much he is willing to pay for his daughter. The latter answers that he will pay any sum which is demanded. The girl's father invariably claims a hundred dollars and a female slave, to which the young man's father consents without any intention to pay the whole of this price. When he is counting out the money—either now, if he has brought it with him, or otherwise on a later occasion—he stops, say at fifty dollars. The girl's father tells him to go on and finish the sum; but now the *imaḥḍâbĕn* step in, one saying, "I have got ten dollars as my share"; another, "I have got five as mine," and so forth. Then nothing more is claimed. The statements made by the *imaḥḍâbĕn* are all sham; they have previously arranged with the girl's father how much is actually to be paid, and hence the other man knows where to stop. But if the girl is of a good family, the hundred dollars may have to be paid in full.

Subsequently the young man's father again visits the father of the girl, taking with him presents consisting of three live sheep, of which he slaughters one on his arrival, a jar (*ṭâqbušt*) of salt butter weighing from four to six pounds, one or two loaves of sugar, some green tea, a pound of candles, thirty *ṭiqordîyin* of barley and ten of wheat, a Fez *mudd* of ground wheat, and whatever money still remains to be paid. He is accom-

panied by some ten men and a few women from among his relatives, the business of the latter being to prepare the great meal which is now served at the tent of the girl's family, and in which also neighbours join as invited guests. A formal betrothal ceremony takes place, essentially similar to that of the Aiṭ Sáddĕn and Aiṭ Nḏēr, and one of the women makes a quivering noise, *ṭimušiṭ*, which is also the name given to the ceremony in question. On the return of the young man's father and his party, a feast called *lbârwiḥ* is held at his tent the same day and the following day also. The men of his own and neighbouring villages come there to bestow their blessings on the young man and his family. There is much powder-play, and the guests are entertained with good food. But the young man himself is not present on this occasion. He avoids his father from the day when the arrangements for his marriage commence, and does not see him again until after the wedding, when he kisses his head. All this time the son neither eats nor sleeps in his father's tent.

I was told that in the neighbouring tribe Aṭ Ziḥri it happens that parents marry their sons while still quite young to women who are so much older than these boy-husbands that they might be their mothers. The wife looks after her husband as if he were her son, and when he arrives at the age of puberty his wife has long ago become a mother. Indeed, the husband and his wife's eldest son may be of nearly the same age, but the latter, nevertheless, calls his mother's husband "father"

and is called by him "son." The reason for these marriages is the desire to have grown-up children as early as possible on account of the prevalence of blood-revenge. My informants were men from the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi, but their statements substantially agree with those given by M. Mouliéras.[1]

Among the Ruâfa of the Aiṭ Wäryâġäl marriages are arranged by the parents of the parties, often enough before the children have reached the age of puberty. The wedding, however, is only held when the young couple are able to set up their own household; till then they live in their respective homes without having intercourse with each other or even meeting. But when the means of the parents allow it, they have their wedding and settle down together while they are still children. Here also early marriages result from the desire for sons, who are of extreme importance in a society where the blood-feud is rife; moreover, if a man at his death leaves behind daughters only, his brothers or nephews will take possession of his house. If the young people are cousins or neighbours, they are naturally acquainted with each other; but this is not the case otherwise.

The mother of the young man or boy meets the mother of the future *fiancée* at the women's market to make an informal proposal. If the latter is in favour of the match, she says that the affair should be discussed

[1] Mouliéras, *Une Tribu Zénète anti-musulmane au Maroc* (*les Zkara*) (Paris, 1905), p. 91 *sqq.*

by the two fathers, who soon afterwards come together at the men's market, both accompanied by friends. After they have partaken of some food brought by the young man's father, one of his friends asks the girl's father to give his daughter in marriage to the other man's son. He answers that he will do so if his conditions are agreed to. A sum of money is mentioned, as also certain quantities of wheat, beans, oil, and so forth, which are demanded for the girl. After some bargaining an agreement is arrived at, the young man's father gets up and kisses the girl's father on the head, the latter does the same to him, and the other men follow their example.

Some days after this meeting the young man's mother, accompanied by two or three other women, pays a visit to the girl's mother, taking with her bread wrapped up in a kerchief, *amendīr*, which name is also given to this present. Later on the young man's father and his kinsfolk—men, women, and children—take to the girl's family the so-called *amehṛī*, consisting of raw meat, bread, and oil, the men firing off their guns and the women making a quivering noise (*sriwriwẹn*). After a meal, made on the bread and oil, a formal betrothal takes place, with exaggerated claims set forth by the girl's father, and nominally consented to by a *fqī* acting on behalf of the other party. *Fâtḥa* is then made; and there is much powder-play, *sriwriwẹn*, and dancing by the unmarried girls.

If a man wants to marry a certain girl, and her

father is opposed to the match, he can compel him to give in by sacrificing a sheep as *'ar* outside his house. But this is not held to be a good method of procuring a wife, since it is believed that some misfortune is likely to befall a person who induces another to grant his request by making *'ar* on him, the curse in such a case affecting the petitioner and not the individual appealed to.

Among the Shlöḥ of the Ait Támĕldu, when a young man wants to marry, he may choose his wife from among the girls of his own village, with whom he is of course acquainted since childhood; or he may prefer a girl from another village, where he has some friend whom he takes into his confidence. It is arranged that they together shall watch the girl recommended to him, when she goes on a visit to some shrine. The two friends hide themselves on the roadside, so that the young man can see her face and form an opinion about her walk, which is also considered a matter of importance. If he is pleased with her appearance and, besides, hears that she is skilful at weaving and preparing food, he asks a friend to inquire of her father whether he be willing to give her in marriage. Should her parents consent, after satisfying themselves of the young man's character, the friend mentions the son's wishes to his parents, who may either agree at once or answer that they are not yet prepared for his marriage. In the former case his father requests two or three men, one of whom is the friend himself, to

make a proposal on behalf of his son. When these men, the so-called *inḍâlabĕn* (sing. *anḍalb*), go on their errand, they take with them a silver ornament for the girl and a large quantity of henna and dates, part of which her father distributes among his neighbours to advertise his daughter's engagement. There is no bargaining as to the dowry (*ámerwas*), since it is fixed by custom once for all. Before leaving, the *inḍâlabĕn* say on what day they will return with the *ámerwas*—or rather one-half of it—and on this latter occasion the marriage contract is sealed by a *fâtḥa* conducted by the *fqī*, after a meal has been partaken of. The *inḍâlabĕn* then inform the girl's father of the day when the wedding is going to take place.

A girl cannot oppose the match arranged by her parents, but if her father is dead she herself appoints her *lukîl*. Again, if a son is getting old without showing any inclination for marriage, his parents may take the first step, and under such circumstances he would comply with their wishes.

In addition to the ceremonies just described, a written contract of marriage is frequently drawn up by two *'ădûl*, or notaries, in the presence of witnesses, either before the wedding, when the *ṣdaq* or part of it is paid, or, as is the case, for example, in Andjra, on the day when the bride is brought to her new home. This document itself is called *ṣdaq*. But, as has been already said, it is not required to make the union valid; and in many Berber tribes the contract of marriage is hardly

ever reduced to writing, the ceremony of *fâṭḥa* being the only confirmation of it.

In Morocco marriages between cousins on the father's side are common both among Arabs and Berbers.[1] A man is even held to have a certain right to his cousin's hand. In Andjra I was told that he ought to be asked if he wants to marry her, before she is given away to anybody else, and that, if this is not done, he is entitled to prevent her marriage even on the day of the wedding, by forcibly removing her from the bridal box; and among the Ulâd Bu-ʿĂzîz a man who has contracted marriage with another man's paternal cousin can be compelled by the latter to give her up if he is compensated for his expenses, but only on condition that she has not yet settled down with him. In the Rîf instances are known in which an uncle who has married his daughter to another man has been killed by his nephew. The *ṣdaq* paid for a paternal cousin is often smaller than usual, although it also happens that a man tries to prevent his nephew from marrying his daughter by making his claims excessive.

Marriages between paternal cousins are popular because they keep the property in the family,[2] and, especially in shereefian families, because they preserve the blood pure. They are also said to be conducive to

[1] *Cf.* Fischer, 'Zum Wortton im Marokkanischen,' in *Mittheilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen an der Königl. Universität zu Berlin*, Jahrg. II. *Westasiatische Studien* (Berlin & Stuttgart, 1899), p. 282; Doutté, *op. cit.* p. 339.

[2] For a similar motive among the ancient Arabs, see *Kitâb al-aġânî*, ed. Bûlâk, viii. 113, quoted by Goldziher, 'Endogamy and Polygamy among the Arabs,' in *The Academy*, xviii. (1880), p. 26.

domestic happiness. *Li ḫâḍ bĕnt ʿâmmu ʿăyyid mĕn ġélmu*, "He who marries the daughter of his father's brother celebrates his feast with a sheep from his own flock"—he knows the sheep he slaughters. Or: whilst marrying a strange woman is like drinking water from an earthenware bottle, marriage with a cousin is like a drink from a dish—you are aware of what you drink. Such a marriage also gives the husband greater power over his wife, since, if she runs away, her father or brother will bring her back; and it has the further advantage that she cannot curse her husband by cursing his ancestors without implicating herself in the curse. It confers religious merit on a man to marry his cousin—by doing so he will not be punished on the day of the Resurrection; and at the same time it is a kind of duty. *Li yĕrfed zebbâlatˢ n-nâs yĕrfed dyâlu*, "He who carries away the dunghills of the people carries away his own"—it is not right of a man to leave his own cousin unmarried by taking another woman for wife.

Yet cousin-marriages are also considered to have their drawbacks. At Fez I was told that they easily lead to quarrels between the husband's and wife's families, both of whom want to interfere in the married life of the couple;[1] hence, when girls who want to marry visit the tomb of Sîdi Mbârăḳ ben ʿÂbâbû outside the gate Bâb l-Gîsa, they address the saint with the

[1] The poet of the Mu'allakât gives in his testament the following advice to his children:—"Do not marry in your own family, for domestic enmity arises therefrom" (*Kitâb al-aġânî*, ix. 185, quoted by Goldziher, *loc. cit.* p. 26). As Wellhausen (*loc. cit.* p. 437) observes, the enmity spoken of in this passage probably means "Zwisten zwischen den Familien des Mannes und der Frau, die durch Einmischung der Schwiegereltern hervorgerufen werden."

words, *A sîdi Mbârăk ben ʿĂbâbû aʿṭêni r-râjel blạ ḥbâbû*, "O Sîdi Mbârăk ben ʿAbâbû give me a husband without friends." It is a common belief that cousin-marriages make the children resulting from them weak and the family unlucky.[1] A proverb says :—*ʿAmmạk yáʿmmik u ḳâlăk yáḳlik u baʿad mẹ̆n dẹ̆mmăk la yẹ̣blik*, "Your father's brother will make you blind and your mother's brother will make you destitute, and keep away from your blood that it shall not visit you with misfortunes." A Berber from the Great Atlas once said to me, "How can a man love a woman with whom he has grown up from childhood?" And I have heard a similar argument adduced against marrying a girl from one's own village. Where I was staying in Andjra a man was betrothed to a cousin who was living in an adjoining cottage, and I heard the opinion expressed that it was shameful he should marry a girl whom he constantly saw. It was said that not even cousins should see much of each other before they married.

The idea that a man has a right to wed his *bint ʿamm*, or paternal cousin, is common in the Muhammedan world,[2] and also prevailed among the ancient

[1] It was also the opinion of the ancient Arabs that the children of marriages between relatives are weakly and lean. Thus a poet, in praising a hero, says of him :—"He is a hero not borne by the cousin (of his father), he is not weakly; for the seed of relations brings forth feeble fruit." In a proverb of Al-Meydānī (ii. p. 250) it is said, "(Marry) the distant, marry not the near (in relationship)." See Goldziher, *loc. cit.* p. 26; Wilken, *Das Matriarchat* (*das Mutterrecht*) *bei den alten Arabern* (Leipzig, 1884), p. 58 *sq.*

[2] According to Burckhardt (*Bedouins and Wahábys*, pp. 154, 64 *sq.*), "all Arabian Bedouins acknowledge the first cousin's prior right to a girl; whose father cannot refuse to bestow her on him in marriage, should he pay a reasonable price; and that price is always something less than would be demanded from a stranger. . . . He is not obliged to marry her, but she cannot, without his consent, become the wife of any

Arabs;[1] Wellhausen observes that their cousin-marriages served the purpose of strengthening the kinship tie,[2] and that the same was the case with other marriages contracted inside the same village.[3] In Morocco, marriages between members of the same village are encouraged by the Berbers of the Rîf, who, in order to keep away alien elements from the community, deny the right of inheritance to a woman who leaves her village; yet marriages between persons belonging to different villages are not rare among them. In most parts of Morocco such unions are of frequent occurrence. Much less frequent, of course, are marriages between members of different tribes;[4] but even Berbers and

other person. If a man permits his cousin to marry her lover, or if a husband divorces his runaway wife, he usually says, 'She was my slipper, I have cast her off.'" See also Burton, *op. cit.* ii. 84. Among the peasants of Palestine, if a girl is given in marriage to another man, her cousin even considers himself entitled to carry her away by force from the bridal procession (Klein, *loc. cit.* p. 84. See also Robinson Lees, *op. cit.* p. 121; C. T. Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 107 *sq.*; Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, p. 45 *sqq.*). For cousin-marriages in modern Egypt, see Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 170 *sq.*; *Idem*, *Arabian Society*, p. 227; Klunzinger, *Upper Egypt* (London, 1878), p. 196. For similar marriages in Algeria, see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.* p. 7. See also Burckhardt, *Arabic Proverbs* (London, 1830), p. 181; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten* (Haag, 1886), p. 17.

[1] Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (Cambridge, 1885), pp. 82, 138, 164; Wellhausen, *loc. cit.* p. 436 *sq.*; Wilken, *op. cit.* p. 59. Among the ancient Arabs, "the beloved one is called, indeed, even when she stands in no position of relationship to her lover 'bint 'amm' (cousin), and the father-in-law, although not the uncle of his son-in-law, is called ''amm' (uncle)" (Goldziher, *loc. cit.* p. 26). Among the present Bedouins of Arabia *bint 'amm* "in polite phrase signifies a 'wife'" (Burton, *op. cit.* ii. 84).

[2] The Arabic history of the Persian king Ardeshîr tells us that, among other maxims of morality, he gave the following advice to his lawyers, secretaries, commanding officers, and husbandmen: "You may marry among your near relations, for the sympathy of kinship is kept alive thereby" (Goldziher, *loc. cit.* p. 26).

[3] Wellhausen, *loc. cit.* p. 437 *sq.*

[4] Chenier, who wrote his book on Morocco towards the end of the eighteenth century, says (*The Present State of the Empire of Morocco*, i. [London, 1788], p. 130) that "the tribes dispersed over the country usually confine their marriages each

Arabs sometimes intermarry when they come into much contact with each other. I was told that among the northern Brâber not a few men have wedded women from neighbouring Arab tribes or from Fez, whereas it is very rare that one of their women is married to an Arab.

Strict endogamy, however, is not unheard of in Morocco. The Aṭ Ziḫri, who are known for their exclusiveness, are reported to marry only between themselves and also to refrain from all sexual intercourse with strangers;[1] and among the Ait Ḥássan, a fraction (*táqbilt*) of the Ait Waráin, no stranger is even allowed to be present at a wedding. There are, moreover, prohibitions of intermarriage referring to some special tribes, subdivisions of tribes, or villages, in connection with other peculiarities in their social relations. Thus there is so-called *ṭaḍa*, or brotherhood, between the Infḍûak (Fṭûâka) and Iglíwa in the Great Atlas, which implies that no marriage is allowed between them, and also that if a member of one of these tribes takes refuge with the other tribe, he cannot be touched. I found the same institution among the Brâber of the Aiṭ Nḏēr, Aiṭ Yúsi, and Aiṭ Sáddĕn, who call it *ṭáḍa*; but the

within itself, seldom intermarrying with other tribes." In the Ḫloṭ and Ṭlīq, according to Messrs. Michaux-Bellaire and Salmon ('Les Tribus arabes de la vallée du Lekkoûs,' in *Archives marocaines*, vi. [1906], p. 232), "les mariages se contractent généralement entre gens du même douar, ou au moins de la même fraction. Il arrive cependant quelquefois, surtout chez les gens riches, qu'un mariage est contracté entre gens de deux fractions différentes de la même tribu. Ce qui est infiniment plus rare, c'est le mariage entre gens de deux tribus différentes." See also Michaux-Bellaire, 'Quelques tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt,' in *Archives marocaines*, xvii. (1911), p. 127.

[1] *Cf.* Mouliéras, *Une Tribu Zénète anti-musulmane au Maroc* (*les Zkara*), p. 82. The statements above were made to me by men from the Aṭ Ubáḫti.

duties it imposes are among them more numerous than those I heard of among the Shlöḥ. Besides the marriage taboo and the inviolability of refugees there are strict prohibitions of the use of bad words, the telling of lies, and the commission of any crime whatsoever, as also of selling and buying, between members of the groups to which the *ṭâḍa* refers; and the transgression of any of these rules is supposed to entail some grave misfortune. The people belonging to communities between which there is *ṭâḍa* are said to be more than brothers to each other. If a person from one of them visits the other he is received with the greatest hospitality, presented with any food he likes, respected as highly as a shereef, and appealed to as an arbitrator by quarrelling parties; yet the *ṭâḍa* does not imply the duty of mutual assistance in war. Since ancient times there is *ṭâḍa* between the Aiṭ Ṣâddĕn and the Aiṭ Wälläl belonging to the Aiṭ Nḍĕr; it is said to have been instituted by a saint called Sîḍi Bûṭeyib, who is also supposed to inflict severe punishments on those who break its rules. Within the tribe of the Aiṭ Yúsi there is *ṭâḍa* between the *iġṣṣ*[1] Aiṭ Yăḥya u Yusf (consisting of five villages) in the section (*ŕrba'*) Aiṭ Ărrba' and the *iġṣṣ* Eḥinájĕn (consisting of two villages) in the *ŕrba'* Aiṭ Măḥlûf; between the *iġṣṣ* Aid Daud (consisting of four villages) in the *ŕrba'* Aiṭ Ḥälli and the village Aiṭ Ḥänḍ u 'Áli among the Aiṭ Măḥlûf; and between the villages Aiṭ

[1] *Iġṣṣ* (plur. *iġṣan*; literally "bone") is a subdivision of a larger social unit called *ŕrbá* (plur. *lárbá'*; literally "quarter"), which itself is a division of a *ṭáqbilt*, or tribe. An *iġṣṣ* consists of a number of villages or sometimes of a single village only, inhabited by persons who are relatives on the father's side.

Bráhim and Aiṭ Zz'äiḥum, both belonging to the Aiṭ Mäḥlûf. In olden times there was also *ṭáḍa* between the whole tribes of the Aiṭ Yúsi and Aiṭ Sáddĕn, but this has long ago come to an end; yet even now persons from these tribes address each other as *u-ṭáḍa* (masc. sing.), *ult-táḍa* (fem. sing.), *ait-táḍa* (masc. plur.), or *ist-táḍa* (fem. plur.).

It is a common practice in Morocco, among both Arabs and Berbers, that a man marries his deceased brother's widow, so that her children and property shall not come under the influence of a man outside the family. He is not, however, obliged to marry her, nor is it necessary that his offer to do so should be accepted.[1] According to Muhammedan law, as we have seen, a widow or divorced wife has, under ordinary circumstances, a right to dispose of her own hand, but among some of the Berbers, both in Morocco and Algeria,[2] she is in her father's power as fully as she

[1] *Cf.* Doutté, *op. cit.* p. 339; de Segonzac, *Voyages au Maroc 1899–1901* (Paris, 1904), p. 127. Of the position of a widow among the Arabs of Moab M. Jaussen (*op. cit.* p. 48) writes:—"En principe, elle doit devenir la femme du frère du mari, qui a droit sur elle, et très souvent l'épouse. Si la veuve ne veut absolument pas, elle retourne chez son père, même si elle appartient à une autre tribu." Among the Aeneze, according to Burckhardt (*Bedouins and Wahábys*, p. 64), "if a young man leaves a widow, his brother generally offers to marry her; custom does not oblige either him or her to make this match, nor can he prevent her from marrying another man. It seldom happens, however, that she refuses; for by such an union the family property is kept together." Among the pagan Arabs a widow was inherited by her brother-in-law or her step-son (Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 86 *sqq.*; Wellhausen, *loc. cit.* p. 455). Islam, on the other hand, forbade men to inherit women against their will (*Koran*, iv. 23), and to marry their step-mothers (*ibid.* iv. 26), but approved of marriage with a brother's widow.

[2] Hanoteau and Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*, ii. (Paris, 1873), pp. 151, 156, 159.

was before her marriage. It was pointed out to me that among the Aiṯ Nḏĕr her father, or, if he is dead, her brother, can again sell her to any man he chooses, whereas at Fez it depends upon the woman herself to accept or refuse a proposal.

In certain exceptional cases, however, a man may, as a matter of course, and without payment, marry his brother's widow; or, if the dead man has no brother, his widow may be sold by the women of his family, his mother in the first place and in the next his sister or daughter. This happens in the case of a married woman who has run away from her husband and compelled the other man to marry her. The Bråber have a custom which gives this peculiar privilege to married women. Among the Aiṯ Sádděn, for instance, a woman who does not like to remain with her husband may fly to another man's house or tent, and embrace the pole supporting the roof or one of the vertical tent-poles or, if there is no such pole, take hold of the handmill and turn it round as if she were grinding. Then the owner of the house or tent is obliged to marry her and pay five hundred dollars to the abandoned husband. If he is unable to pay this sum and his relatives cannot help him, he may by means of *ʿar*-sacrifices collect "ransom-money" (*lĕfḏîṯ*) from others, or he may leave his village and the neighbourhood altogether, or he may induce a shereef and some other men to go to the forsaken husband's dwelling and perform there the so-called *amʿârqab* (the Arabic *ʿargîba*), the most awful of all *ʿar*-sacrifices, consisting

in cutting the sinews of a bullock's hocks.[1] Otherwise there is likely to be a feud. If the injured man and his village are not strong enough to fight the new husband and his party, he invokes the assistance of another village by making powerful *'ar* on it — he sacrifices a bullock as *am'ârqab* at the door of its mosque, or takes his daughter there dressed in an old tent-cloth (*aḥläs* or *ṯaḥläsṯ*), or rides there with an old tent-cloth round the neck of his horse, or removes the saddle from the horse and puts it there upside down. But it may also be that the injured man, instead of having a fight, kidnaps a woman belonging to the village to which his wife has fled and then runs away with his booty to another tribe. In such a case the husband, father, or brother of the kidnapped woman, in order to get her back, will insist upon the payment of the five hundred dollars or, if the new husband and his family have left the place, will collect the necessary ransom from the other villagers.

Similar customs are found among the Aiṯ Yúsi, Ait Waráin, Aiṯ Ngēr, and other Bråber; but the compensation to be paid to the former husband varies considerably in different tribes and even in different divisions of the same tribe. Among the Ait Waráin it was said to be two hundred dollars. The Aiṯ Yúsi and Aiṯ Ngēr have agreed upon twenty-one dollars if the woman has fled from the one tribe to the other,

[1] See Westermarck, in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, p. 365 *sq.* The reason for cutting the sinews of the bullock's hocks seems to be to give the animal the appearance of a suppliant. Sometimes the victim is a horse or, among the Aiṯ Yúsi and Beni Mgild, a camel.

and the Aiṭ Yúsi and Aiṭ Sádděn upon seventy dollars, though not long ago the price was only half this sum. If a married woman from the Aiṭ Nḍēr runs away to the Zémmur, her husband can claim a cow with a calf, and if she flies to an Arab tribe thirty-five dollars; whereas other Brâber, as the Aiṭ Sádděn and Aiṭ Yúsi, have made no agreement of this kind with their Arab neighbours for the simple reason that none of their women would think of preferring an Arab to a man of her own race. Within the tribe of the Aiṭ Yúsi the price fixed by custom varies in different *lárba'*, or quarters, of the tribe. It is fifty dollars in cases arising between the Aiṭ Ărrba' and Aiṭ Măḫlûf; eighty-six for those between the Aiṭ Ḥálli on the one hand and the Aiṭ Ărrba', Aiṭ Măḫlûf, or Aiṭ Frígʷu on the other; a hundred for those between the Aiṭ Ărrba' and Aiṭ Frígʷu; and one hundred and twenty for those between the Aiṭ Měs'ŏúḍ u 'Ăli and the Aiṭ Ărrba', Aiṭ Măḫlûf, or Aiṭ Frígʷu. Within the Aiṭ Ărrba' the price is one hundred and fourteen dollars. All these detailed stipulations show that the practice in question must be a fairly common one. I knew an old man of good family from the Aiṭ Yúsi who in the course of his life had been compelled to marry three run-away wives. The compulsion is the same whether the man to whom the woman has fled be a bachelor or a married man, and whatever be the number of his wives.

This singular custom is based on the idea that some grave misfortune would befall the man if he did not wed

a woman who in the said manner took refuge with him. By taking hold of the pole of his dwelling or turning round his handmill, she makes *'ar* on him, that is, transfers to him a conditional curse. But though superstitious fear is at the bottom of the custom, its observance is, at the same time, looked upon as a matter of honour; among the Ait Waráin a man who should refuse to marry the woman would be called a Jew. It is also held necessary that he should have sexual intercourse with her the first night. There is no further ceremony attending these marriages.

CHAPTER II

THE ṢDĀQ AND OTHER PAYMENTS—THE TROUSSEAU

ACCORDING to Muhammedan law, the giving of a dowry is necessary for the contraction of a valid marriage.[1] It is true that a man may legally marry a woman without mentioning a dowry, but in such a case the law presumes a consideration in her favour by virtue of the contract itself.[2]

As to the amount of the dowry there is no maximum fixed by law, though excessive dowry is considered improper both by the Sunnīs and Shī'ahs. As the minimum the early Ḥanafī lawyers fixed ten dirhems, equal to about four or five shillings, whereas the Mālikīs, inhabiting a poorer and less populous country than that in which the Ḥanafī doctrine flourished, regarded three dirhems as the lowest sum which could be given by way of dowry; but these minimums have been abandoned long ago.[3] It is not necessary that

[1] Sīdī Ḫalīl (*Muḫtaṣar*, § 19, Russell and Abdullah al-Ma'mun Suhrawardy, '*A Manual of the Law of Marriage*' *from the Mukhtaṣar of Sīdī Khalīl*, London, *s.a.* p. 5) says that the constituents of marriage are a *walī*, a dowry, spouses free from legal impediments, and the formula.

[2] Ameer Ali, *Mahommedan Law*, ii. (Calcutta, 1908), p. 472 *sq.*

[3] *Ibid.* ii. 473 *sq.*; Sautayra and Cherbonneau, *Droit musulman*, i. (Paris, 1873), p. 95; Sīdī Ḫalīl, *op. cit.* § 168 (p. 61).

the dowry should be paid in money. Sīdī Ḫalīl points out that it is lawful to contract a marriage for a dowry consisting of household furniture, or a certain number of camels or slaves or the like.[1]

As there is nothing in the Koran or in the traditions tending to show that the whole of the dowry must be paid prior to the consummation of the marriage, later jurists have held that only a portion of it should be considered payable at once or on demand, and the remainder within a certain stipulated period or on the dissolution of the contract, whether by divorce or the death of either of the parties.[2]

The dowry is in legal treatises called *mahr* or *ṣadāq*. Originally, however, these words meant different things. The *mahr* was the purchase sum paid to the father or guardian of the woman at her betrothal, whereas the *ṣadāq* was the gift offered to the bride by the bridegroom at their wedding. But under Islam the distinction between *mahr* and *ṣadāq* disappeared—a fusion which was prepared by the fact that already in pre-Muhammedan times the *mahr* had, at least occasionally, been given to the wife as her property.[3]

In Morocco the dowry is called *ṣdāq* or *ṣdaq*, sometimes *sdaq*, by the Arabic-speaking population; *ṣṣḍaq* or *ṣṣdāq* (Ait Waráin) by various tribes of the Bráber; *ssḍaq* by the Ruâfa of the Aiṭ Wäryâġäl, and *ámerwas* by the

[1] Sīdī Ḫalīl, *op. cit.* § 154 (p. 55).

[2] Sautayra and Cherbonneau, *op. cit.* i. 98 *sqq.* Ameer Ali, *op. cit.* ii. 482. Sīdī Ḫalīl, *op. cit.* §§ 156 (p. 56), 173 (p. 62).

[3] Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (Cambridge, 1885), pp. 76, 78, 91. Wellhausen, 'Die Ehe bei den Arabern,' in *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1893, no. 11, p. 433 *sqq.*

Shlöḥ of the Great Atlas and Sūs. At Fez it is also called *nâqda* and, by scribes, *mhar*. But *nâqda*, or *naqd*, properly means only the portion of the *ṣdaq* which is paid at once.[1] In Northern Morocco, at least, this portion is called *nûṣṣ mqâddąm*, "advanced moiety," whilst the remaining part is called *nûṣṣ mwâḫḫar*, "deferred moiety."[2]

In some parts of Morocco the *ṣdaq* is fixed once for all by custom, although the amount may vary greatly even in the same tribe. This is the case among the Ulâd Bu-'Ăzîz in Dukkâla. In the subdivision of this tribe called Ulâd Râfa, for example, the *ṣdaq* is twenty *mẹ̈ṭqal*, nominally eight Spanish pesetas, whereas in some other subdivisions of the same tribe it is considerably higher, in one even as much as four hundred *mẹ̈ṭqal*. But within the same subdivision it does not vary and is the same whether the woman is a virgin, a widow, or a divorced wife. Among the Ulâd Bu-'Ăzîz, however, not more than one-half of the stipulated price is paid, and even this sum only if the husband dies before his wife, or if he divorces her, nothing at all being given on the occasion when the marriage contract is made. Yet there is one instance in which a much higher payment may be claimed, and that is if the husband refrains from doing his duty as a married man and divorces his wife against her will; in such a case he has to pay a so-called *ṣdaq ma'yûfa*, amounting

[1] Russell and Abdullah al-Ma'mun Suhrawardy, *op. cit.* p. 56, n. 1 referring to § 157.

[2] The deferred portion is in legal treaties called *kâlr'* (Russell and Abdullah al-Ma'mun Suhrawardy, *op. cit.* p. 56, n. 1 referring to § 157).

to twice the nominal *ṣdaq*, and the wife is besides allowed to take with her everything which is in the tent.

Among the Shlöḥ of Amzmüz the *ámerwas* (*ṣdaq*) is invariably one hundred *méṭqal* for a virgin and fifty for a widow or divorced wife. Of this sum, however, two-and-a-half *méṭqal* are given to each of the two *ʿădûl* and the same sum to the woman who makes the quivering noise. The rest is paid to the wife on the death of her husband, or if she is divorced by him ; and in the case of her death it is inherited by her children, or, if she has none, by her family.

Among the Igliwa, who are divided into five *laḫămas* (sing. *lḫâms*), each containing a certain number of smaller sections called *iḫsan* (sing. *iḫs*), the *ámerwas* is the same within the *iḫs* but differs within different *iḫsan*. For example, in the *iḫs* Táfga in the *lḫâms* Ait Ărrbaʿ the *ámerwas* consists of forty *méṭqal*, two *ḫrâreb* of wheat, the same quantity of barley, four sheep, two large jars of salt butter, and two other large jars of oil ; but this is only paid to the wife in case she is sent away by her husband or at his death. In the *iḫs* Ait Uġdat in the same *lḫâms* the *ámerwas* consists of a hundred *méṭqal* and nothing else, and here the wife also can dissolve the marriage by paying her husband the same sum, which is not the case either in Táfga or in the *iḫs* Isirs belonging to the same *lḫâms*. In the latter *iḫs* the *ámerwas* is only fifteen *méṭqal* ; whilst in the fourth *iḫs* of the Ait Ărrbaʿ, called Afra, the *ámerwas* simply consists of an animal which the wife, if she should be

divorced, is allowed to pick out with closed eyes from her husband's farm.

Among the Ait Támĕldu the *ámerwas* is two hundred *métqal*, or sixteen dollars, if the woman is a virgin, a hundred *métqal* if she has been married once before, fifty if she has been married twice, twenty-five if she has been married three times, and so forth. One-half of the *ámerwas* is paid before the wedding when *fâṭḥa* is made, and is spent on clothes for the woman, whilst the other half is paid at the death of the husband or if he divorces his wife. If she wants to leave her husband, the portion of it which has been already paid is not restored, but the other portion is of course forfeited. In such a case she asks the *fqī* to draw up a document stating that she is no longer married.

Again, among the Shlöḥ of Aglu the *ámerwas* is invariably twenty-four Moorish dollars in the case of a virgin and twelve dollars in the case of a widow, a divorced wife, or a girl who has become a mother ; but in the last-mentioned case the father of the child has previously had to pay the full *ámerwas* unless he married the girl. The *ámerwas*, however, is not paid even in part when the marriage is contracted, but the bridegroom produces as security a friend, whose responsibility lasts till seven days after the wedding. When this period has come to an end, the wife declares in the presence of two scribes that the money is now in the hands of her husband ; but if he divorces her he nevertheless has to pay the full *ámerwas*, which, though

her property, is then handed over to her father, brother, or uncle, and to herself, in the presence of scribes, only in default of a near male relative. Before the wedding the man pays to his *fiancée's* father merely a sham price consisting of some copper coins, altogether worth half-a-*bîlyūn*, or about an English penny.

Among the Aṭ Ubâḫṭi the *ṣṣḍaq* regularly consists of a belt (*ḍḥăzzam*), two silk kerchiefs (*ṭisĕbnîyin*), two shawls (*liẓârat*), and a pair of slippers (*lbĕlġat*), representing a value of ten dollars, which are given to the bride on the day when she is taken to her new home. The money paid to her father which has been mentioned above is not *ṣṣḍaq* but *ṭâ'mamt*, of which more will be said presently.

As a rule, however, the *ṣdaq* is not fixed once for all but varies according to circumstances. At Fez it is comparatively high. People who are not considered well-off may pay seventy to a hundred dollars for a virgin and thirty to forty for a widow or divorced woman, whilst the *ṣdaq* may be as much as six hundred dollars if the parents of the parties are wealthy. It is paid some time after the ceremony of *fâtḥa*, a month or even a year, as the young man's father may wish. The payment of it takes place in different ways. The two fathers may simply meet in a mosque for this purpose, and the sum agreed upon is paid over in the presence of two notaries (*'ădûl*), who now write the marriage contract; but at the present time the affair is generally accompanied with more ceremony. The young man's father gives a feast in his house, to

which are invited male relatives and friends, as also two *'ădûl*. From there he sends the *'ădûl* and some other men to the girl's father, who on the same occasion has a feast in his house. The latter asks them to join; the *ṣdaq* is paid, and the marriage contract written. The *ṣdaq* is spent by the girl's father on her *trousseau*.

In Andjra a poor man may pay as *ṣdaq* some ten or twenty dollars or even less, a rich man a hundred or two. One-half of the money is paid on the *nhār l-kmāl*, whilst the other half is paid at the death of the husband, or if he divorces his wife without good reason, or by annual instalments in the course of twenty years. With the portion of it which is paid down the girl's parents buy clothes for her, and it would be considered disgraceful if the father used anything of it for his own benefit. The clothing and other things which, besides the money, are included in the *ṣdaq* are taken to the girl's house together with the bridal box in which she is to be brought to her new home, and are taken back again on the same day. One *ḥâyḕk*, however, which, as we shall see, plays an interesting part in the wedding ceremonies, is sent to the girl's house three days before with a portion of the *ḥḏîya*.

In the Ḥiâina the *ṣdaq* is generally between fifty and a hundred dollars, though a poor man may perhaps get a wife for ten or even less. The father of the girl keeps one-half of it for himself and spends the other half in buying clothes and ornaments for his daughter, except some four or five dollars which are left to be

paid to the wife either by instalments or at her husband's death, or if he divorces her without a good cause; but the husband may also square the debt by buying a present for his wife. The *ṣdaq*, however, must be returned if the bride is sent back because she is found not to be a virgin, or if she is divorced on account of misbehaviour.

Among the Aiṯ Sáddĕn a rich man's daughter fetches a higher price than a poor man's, a beautiful girl—other things being equal—a higher price than an ugly one; but even for an unattractive girl a considerable sum may be paid if her father is a man of wealth. The *ṣṣḍaq* of a widow or divorced wife is generally much less than that of a virgin. A hundred dollars is a moderate *ṣṣḍaq*, 130-200 a high one; 70 and 90 dollars are prices that must be avoided because these numbers are considered unlucky. As we have seen, however, the *ṣṣḍaq* first agreed upon is not paid in full.[1] The father of the girl spends a smaller or larger part of it—as much as he likes—in buying clothes and ornaments for his daughter, keeping the rest of it for himself.

Among the Ait Waráin the amount of the *ṣṣdāq* depends on the beauty of the girl, her skill in weaving, and the wealth of her father. A hundred dollars is a handsome price, whereas a girl without a father and without personal attraction may fetch twenty or thirty dollars only. On the occasion called *tlilau*, when the *ṣṣdāq* is agreed upon, the greater part of it is also

[1] See *supra*, p. 39.

handed over to the girl's father; but a sum of ten dollars is always allowed to remain unpaid, and the young man's father tries to be exempted from the payment of a still larger amount. This remaining portion is claimed if the husband divorces his wife without a good cause, or if he dies before her, but otherwise he leaves it unpaid or merely gives her a ewe. If a girl has no father the *ṣṣdāq* is paid to the paternal uncle, or if she has none to a paternal cousin, or in default of such a relative to a maternal uncle, providing that he does not live far away. Otherwise she receives the *ṣṣdāq* herself, appointing a *lūkīl*, or deputy, to act on her behalf and giving him some money in payment for his trouble.

Among the Ruâfa of the Aiṭ Wäryâġäl the *ssḏaq* is proportionate to the wealth of the bride's family and the number of her brothers and male cousins, who give strength to her husband, whereas her beauty is not considered in this connection. A low price for a virgin bride is thirty or forty dollars; a widow or divorced wife, on the other hand, only fetches from fifteen to thirty, even though she has many brothers, money, or property. Part of the *ssḏaq* is often paid on the occasion when it is fixed, and it must be paid in full before the consummation of the marriage. Her father keeps one portion of it for himself and spends the rest in buying new clothes for his daughter and presenting her with an ornament called *ḏiḏli*, which consists of dollar or half-dollar pieces threaded on a string of horse-hair and is worn round the forehead. She puts it on

on the morning after her first intercourse with her husband, and wears it then for a week, till her people go away; afterwards she adorns herself with it on special occasions only, such as religious feasts, weddings, and visits to shrines. The *ssḍaq* must be returned if the woman is sent away because she is found not to be a virgin, or if she is divorced on account of notorious adultery.

The customs relating to the *ṣdaq* thus present many variations in different tribes and places. Not only is its amount sometimes fixed once for all and sometimes settled by the parties according to the circumstances, but it varies greatly in different communities and, when it is not fixed, within the same community as well. It is commonly smaller if the woman is a widow or divorced wife than if she is a virgin, but this is not the case everywhere. Sometimes it is paid in full before the consummation of the marriage, sometimes one-half of it or a smaller part is left unpaid. The "deferred" portion may be paid by instalments or compensated for by a present given to the wife by the husband; but in many cases it is only paid at the death of the latter or if he divorces his wife without sufficient reason, and in some tribes these are the only circumstances in which the *ṣdaq* or a part of it is paid at all, nothing of it being given when the marriage is contracted. As to the disposal of the *ṣdaq* we notice that in some places the girl's father spends the whole of the sum paid down on her *trousseau*, whereas in other cases he so spends only a part of it, keeping the rest for himself. In these

latter cases the *ṣdaq* is not merely, as Sīdī Ḫalīl puts it,[1] "similar" to a selling price.[2]

[1] Sīdī Ḫalīl, *op. cit.* § 151 (p. 54).

[2] At Cairo, according to Lane (*Arabian Society in the Middle Ages* [London, 1883], p. 230), a sum equivalent to about twenty pounds sterling is a common dowry among Arabs of the middle classes for a virgin, and half or a third or a quarter of that sum for a divorced woman or a widow. "Two thirds of the sum is usually paid before making the contract, and the remaining portion held in reserve to be paid to the woman in case of her divorce or in case of the husband's death. The father or guardian of a girl under age receives the former portion of her dowry; but it is considered as her property, and he generally expends it, with an additional sum from his own purse, in the purchase of necessary furniture, dress, etc., for her, which the husband can never take from her against her own wish" (see also *Idem*, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* [London, 1896], p. 173 *sqq.*). Burckhardt (*Arabic Proverbs* [London, 1830], p. 113) says that, at Cairo, "among the first-rate merchants the price is from 200 to 300 dollars; among those of the second class, from sixty to eighty; and the lower classes often pay no more than from three to five dollars. It is usual," he adds, "to pay half of the money immediately in advance." In Mecca the amount of the dowry, or *mahr*, varies extremely. "In vornehmen Familien wird ein beträchtlicher *Mahr* durch beiderseitigen Familienstolz erfordert und fügt der Vater des Bräutigams dem Versprochenen noch vieles hinzu. Mancher Vater aus den mittleren Klassen verlangt im Namen seiner Tochter einige hundert Dollars nicht wegen des Geldes, sondern weil er dadurch zeigen will, wie viel er auf sie hält. Andere heben hervor, ein guter Gatte sei ihnen willkommen, auch wenn er nur der Form wegen einige Zehner opfert. In den ärmeren Klassen muss man für die Jungfrau schon deshalb auf möglichst hohen *Mahr* dringen, weil daraus die sämmtlichen Kosten ihrer Aussteuer zu bestreiten sind und weil sie dadurch ein kleines Kapitälchen erhält für den Fall einer Scheidung. Die Ärmsten müssen über Alles hinwegsehen und mit ein paar Dollars vorlieb nehmen, wenn nicht ihre Schönheit die Begierde der Reichen erweckt" (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. [Haag, 1889], p. 158 *sq.*). In Medina 400 dollars would be considered a fair average sum among respectable citizens (Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah*, ii. [London, 1898], p. 23, n. 2). Among the Badawin of Al-Hijaz the "settlement" is usually about thirty Spanish dollars, half paid down, and the other owed by the bridegroom to the father, the brothers, or the kindred of his spouse; but some tribes will take animals in lieu of ready money (*ibid.* ii. 111). Among the Bedouins of Mount Sinai the price of a girl varies according to circumstances, and is never exactly stipulated in a tribe. "It is from five to ten dollars, but sometimes amounts to thirty, if the girl is well connected and very handsome. Part only of the money is paid down, the rest standing over as a kind of debt. The father receives the money; or, if he is dead, the brother, or nearest male relation." The price of a widow is never more than half of what is given for a virgin and generally no more than one-third; and it is likewise paid into the hands of her masters (Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys* [London, 1830], p. 152 *sq.*). The Aeneze, on the other hand, would consider it scandalous if a father should demand money for his daughter. Among the Ahl el Shemál he receives for her the *ḫomse*, or "five articles," comprehending a carpet, a large silver nose-ring, a silver

Yet, even though the woman has the full benefit of the *ṣdaq*, the marriage may nevertheless be an act of purchase. Among the Aṭ Ubáḥṭi the price of 100 dollars and a female slave which the young man's father consents to pay, though it is afterwards reduced, is not the *ṣṣḍaq*, but the so-called *ṭa'mamt*. Whilst the *ṣṣḍaq* is fixed once for all and consists of female wearing apparel, the *ṭa'mamt* is paid in cash and varies according to the circumstances, being chiefly determined by the wealth and position of the girl's father, as also by her own beauty. Whilst the *ṣṣḍaq* is only given on the day when the bride is brought to her new home, the *ṭa'mamt* must have been paid in full before the contract of marriage is made, the last portion of it being handed over at the *ṭimušiṭ*. And unlike the *ṣṣḍaq* the *ṭa'mamt* becomes the property of the girl's father, with the restriction that he is obliged to buy for his daughter a mat (*ḍjěrṭil*) and a pillow (*ṭâğrarṭ*) out of it ; in addition he perhaps spends some of the money on silver ornaments for her, but he is not required by custom to do so. If the girl's father is dead, the *ṭa'mamt* is given to

neck-chain, silver bracelets, and a camel-bag of the Baghdad carpet manufacture ; but they become her property (*ibid.* p. 62). In the rural districts of Palestine the marriage contract is avowedly an act of purchase, most part—or at least one-half (von Mülinen, 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Karmels,' in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, xxx. [1907], p. 170)—of the dowry going to the girl's father (Van-Lennep, *Bible Lands* [London, 1875], p. 540 ; C. T. Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land* [London, 1906], p. 109 ; Klein, 'Mittheilungen über Leben, Sitten und Gebräuche der Fellachen in Palästina,' in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vi. [1883], p. 90 ; Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* [Paris, 1908], p. 49). It is this that makes the birth of a girl so much more welcome among the *fellaḥīn* than among the townspeople, who do not appropriate the dowries given for their daughters (Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 109). Among the country-people and poor nomads of Judea the price of a wife often ranges from 150 to 250 dollars (Van-Lennep, *op. cit.* p. 541).

her brother, mother, paternal uncle, or paternal cousin, and if she has no such relative she gets it herself. In case the marriage contract is reduced to writing, both the *ṯa'mamt* and the *ṣṣḍaq* are mentioned in it.

The same institution is found among the Aṯ Buzéggu, Aṯ Yiznáseṉ, and other tribes of the same neighbourhood, the Berbers of Algeria,[1] and some of the Bråber. I was told that among the Aiṯ Nḏeṟ the *ṯa'mamt* is regularly double the amount of the *ṣṣḍaq* and may even be more, since the latter never exceeds thirty dollars. It is chiefly influenced by the beauty of the girl and her skill in weaving and spinning, but not by her virtue. It generally varies between forty and seventy dollars, and occasionally rises to a hundred; but in exceptional cases even more may be paid for an extremely attractive and skilful girl, especially if she has many suitors. The *ṯa'mamt* is paid with money only, or with animals, corn, or other provisions as well; and here also it must be handed over to the girl's father before the wedding, whereas the *ṣṣḍaq* is paid later on—one part of it, consisting of clothes, when the bride is fetched from her old home, and the other part at the death of the husband, or if he divorces his wife without a good cause, or, in the form of a voluntary present, for example a cow, at any other time he pleases. If the wife is divorced on account of her own misbehaviour, the *ṯa'mamt* must be returned.

The *ṯa'mamt* is a Berberised form of the Arabic

[1] Hanoteau and Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*, ii. (Paris, 1873), p. 152 *sqq.*

ʿămâma, which means "turban," but this does not prevent it representing an old Berber institution which has survived under Islam, embellished with a new name. In Algeria it is also called *ṯuššit*, which means "eating."[1] But a similar bride-price is found in many Arabic-speaking tribes in Morocco as well, where it is called *mâkla*, or "food," and the *ṯâʿmamt* and *mâkla* have been represented to me by the people themselves as identical institutions. In the Ḥloṭ and Ṭlīq the *mâkla* is always paid in money, and is much higher than the *ṣdaq*, varying between twenty and two hundred dollars.[2] In the Ḥiâina, on the other hand, it was said to consist of a bullock, a few sheep, wheat, and salt butter, which the parents of the young man take with them when they, in the company of the *fqī* of the village and a few friends, go to pay the *ṣdaq*; but here also the girl's father keeps the *mâkla* for himself.

Another survival of the old Berber marriage by purchase is perhaps, at least in part, the *ḥḏîya*, "present," which in Andjra is given to the girl's father. As we have seen,[3] it is discussed before the parties come to an agreement, but, unlike the *ṣdaq*, it is not mentioned in the written contract. Three days before the bride is fetched from her old home, men and boys from the young man's village take there the portion of the *ḥḏîya* which is called *l-ḥḏîya ḏen-nqa ḏel-qaut*ˢ, consisting of a considerable quantity of corn out of

[1] Hanoteau and Letourneux, *op. cit.* ii. 152.

[2] Michaux-Bellaire and Salmon, 'Les Tribus arabes de la vallée du Lekkoûs,' in *Archives marocaines*, vi. (1906), p. 226.

[3] *Supra*, p. 30 *sq.*

that which was cleaned on the *nhâr n-nqa ḏel-ʿărûṣ*, together with the butter, oil, candles, sugar, salt, henna, and slippers agreed upon. Two days later, on the day *nhâr ᵈ-ᵈjwâri ḏel-ʿărûṣa*, a large party of relatives and friends of the young man, accompanied by musicians, take to the girl's place the promised bullock, *l-hḏîya ḏet-ᵗˢaur*. People from her village meet them on the way, and when they approach her house some bachelors of the young man's party lift the bullock on their backs and carry it thus to the yard, where it is slaughtered and cut up, while the men are firing off their guns, and the girl-friends of the bride are making a quivering noise. One-half of the meat is left there for the entertainment of the women, the other half is taken to the young man's father, and the skin becomes the property of the bride's brother. In the case of a poor man's wedding, a sheep or goat is sent instead of a bullock.

At Tangier the bridegroom or his father sends, on the morning of the third day before the bride is brought to his home, some male friends and musicians to her house with a bullock or calf, which is slaughtered there at the door. When this is done they make *fâtˢḥa* and go away, the musicians taking with them the head and skin of the animal. This day is called *nhâr d-dbêḥa*, "the day of the sacrifice."

Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġäl, on the day before the wedding is celebrated in the bridegroom's house, his uncle or brother is sent to the bride's father with three or four goats. But about a week previously his father

has already taken to the latter a large quantity of wheat and barley—some thirty to sixty *mudd*—and a *mudd* of beans, which he uses for the entertainment of the unmarried girls of the village who now spend all their time with his daughter, keeping for himself anything that remains. The amount of corn and beans was agreed upon at the same time as the *ssḍaq*, which consists of money only.

Besides payments or gifts to the girl's father a payment is also, in many tribes, made to other members of her family. The Aṭ Ubáḥṭi call this payment *liḥra*, which is a Berberised form of the Arabic *kra*, meaning "hire" or "wages." It consists among them of ten dollars paid to the girl's mother, the same amount paid to her eldest brother, and smaller sums or presents given to her younger brothers, sisters, and other near relatives. It is paid on the same occasion as the *ṭá'mamt*, but previously to it; although, if the father of the young man cannot then pay it in full, some article of value, as a gun or pistol, may be left as security. Like the *ssḍaq*, but unlike the *ṭá'mamt*, it is never returned in the case of divorce.

Among the Arabs of the Ḥiáina, if the girl's father shows himself unwilling to accept the proposal, a *réšwa*, "bribe," is offered to other male relatives of hers in order that they shall try to induce the father to give in. But even if the latter makes no objections to the match, *réšwa* is paid to them, though in this case only on the occasion when the bride is fetched.

Among the Aiṭ Sádděn, at the ceremony of *lfâṭḥa* when the first part of the *ṣṣḍaq* is handed over to the girl's father, her eldest grown-up brother, if she has any, also claims a sum for himself, which is fixed now but only paid afterwards, at the ceremony of *asġûrṭ*; the brother does not allow the quivering noise to be made on the latter occasion unless he has previously received the sum agreed upon. This money, which is called *rršūṭ*—from the Arabic *rêšwa*—may perhaps amount to some six or eight dollars. It is only given to the eldest brother of the girl, even though she have several brothers who are older than herself.

In the tribe of the Ait Waráin, before the *ṣṣdāq* is paid to the girl's father, the other members of her family receive from the young man's father some money or a garment, by which he hopes to induce them to help him in settling the *ṣṣdāq*. Should a brother or uncle of the girl be left without such a present, it may happen that he, on the occasion when she is going to be taken away from her home by the bridegroom's party, will step forward and claim the money which has not been given him. If it is refused a fight ensues between the men of the bride's village and those of the bridegroom's party, first with stones and afterwards, if the refusal is persisted in, with guns. This is a fight in good earnest, and should anybody be killed there would be blood-revenge; it has happened that the bride herself has been wounded by stones. If the men of the bride's village win, the bridegroom's people have to pay the demanded sum, whereas in the opposite

case the latter carry away with them the bride by force.

Among the Shlöḥ of Aglu, when the bridegroom's party come to fetch the bride, her brother locks the door of the house, and does not open it until they have paid him a small sum of money.

In Andjra, again, when the bride has been lifted into the box on the back of the mule which is going to carry her to her new home, her brother seizes hold of the animal and tells the bridegroom's people that he does not allow them to take away his sister unless they pay him a sum of money; and it is only after the bridegroom's brother, or the person who has led the mule, has paid him, say, three or four dollars as *ḥlâwa*, "*douceur*," that the procession is allowed to start. It is also the custom in Andjra that if the eldest brother of the girl is opposed to her marriage, though her parents be in favour of it, the young man tries to prevail upon him by offering him a *ḥlâwa*, as he has a kind of veto in the matter. Eight or ten dollars are perhaps sufficient for the purpose; but if the girl has many suitors the *ḥlâwa* may even amount to fifty. There is a similar custom among the Aiṯ Wäryâġäl, who call the money in question *ḍâzăṭṭaṭ*, the Arabic *zṭâṭa*, which denotes the present or fee given to a *zéṭṭaṭ*, that is, a person who conducts a stranger safely through his tribe.

The presents spoken of are thus expressions of a feeling of family solidarity. They show that the father or parents of the girl are not the only ones who have

something to say in the matter of her disposal, and that the eldest brother in particular, who in case her father is dead is her recognised guardian, is an influential person even during his lifetime.

Presents, consisting of clothes, ornaments, and other things, are also given to the girl. These may, as we have seen,[1] at least in part, be included in the *ṣdaq*, but in many Arab tribes they form a consideration by itself, called *dhāz*,[2] which is discussed before the marriage contract is made.[3] Among the Ulâd Bu-ʿĂzîz, who require no part of the *ṣdaq* to be paid in advance, the *dhāz* comprises a great variety of things, not all of which, however, are meant for the *fiancée*—such as a bullock, a sheep or two, a camel-load of wheat, a large jar (*gúlla*) of salt butter, four *šqoq* of cotton-stuff, a belt (*ḥăzâm*) and a veil (*kĕnbūš*) of silk, a silk kerchief (*sĕbnîya*), a black headgear called *šarbîya*, another headgear called *šanbūr*, several pairs of slippers (one for the *fiancée* and the others for her

[1] *Supra*, p. 69 *sq.*

[2] This is the same word as جهاز. In the dialect of Dukkâla ج is under certain circumstances changed into ذ (*cf.* Westermarck, *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco* [*Öfversigt af Finska Vetenskapssocietetens Förhandlingar*, Bd. liv. 1911–1912, Afd. B. N:o 1], p. 57).

[3] See Michaux-Bellaire and Salmon, *loc. cit.* p. 225 *sq.* In Palestine, also, the word denotes the stipulated presents which the bridegroom gives to the bride (Klein, *loc. cit.* p. 91), whereas in Egypt, according to Lane (*Modern Egyptians*, p. 175), it means the articles which are bought with the dowry paid by the bridegroom and the additional money supplied by the bride's family, and which become the property of the bride. M. E. Mercier (*La Condition de la femme musulmane dans l'Afrique septentrionale* [Alger, 1895], p. 51) observes:—"Il arrive que le *djehaz* (somme devant être affectée à l'achat de bijoux ou objets du trousseau de l'épouse, au moment de la consommation du mariage) se confond, en tout ou en partie, avec le *neked*; il n'est pas donc absolument obligatoire; cependant, dans la pratique, il est souvent stipulé à part."

parents and brothers), a looking-glass, a comb (*mâšṭa*), soap for washing, henna, walnut root or bark (*swak*), ochre (*'ăkâr*), gum-benjamin (*jâwi*), dates, and other articles, especially such as are to be worn. If the young man is of a well-to-do family the *dhāz* may also include two silver bracelets (*dbāljˇ*), two silver earrings (*dwâwăḥ*), a silver breast ornament with a chain called *kŭtfîyāt*, and a female slave. Some ten days or more before the wedding the *dhāz* is taken to the tent of the girl's family by men and women of the young man's village, who are entertained there with a meal of *sĕksu*, after which the camels are unloaded and the presents exhibited to the admiring villagers. The girl's father gives a few of the dates and a little henna to everybody who happens to be there; but the girl herself is all the time sitting in another tent, being too bashful to appear. Among the Ait Tâměldu the young man on the day of the proposal sends to the girl the so-called *nnóqra*, "silver," consisting of a silver ornament, dates, and henna.

In many cases the girl's father, also, gives her something in addition to what is bought with the *ṣdaq*. At Fez I was told that custom requires him thus to spend on her *trousseau* at least the same amount from his own money—the so-called *mît'âl*.[1] In Andjra he

[1] In his description of the marriage customs of Fez four hundred years ago Leo Africanus (*The History and Description of Africa*, ii. [London, 1896], p. 450) writes with reference to the dowries bestowed by fathers on their daughters that "some doe striue so much to excell others, that oftentimes many gentlemen haue brought themselues vnto pouertie thereby." In Egypt not only the dowry paid by the bridegroom but an additional sum supplied by the bride's family, which is often more than the dowry itself, is expended in purchasing the articles of furniture, dress,

is expected at his own expense to provide her with a *šwār* of wearing apparel ;[1] and among the Ait Tăměldu it is a matter of pride to a father to give his daughter a good *liqqâma*, consisting for example of a cow, some sheep, silver ornaments, silk kerchiefs, blankets, a belt (*tûggas*), and other articles, worth perhaps from fifty to two hundred dollars; though a poor man may have nothing to give but some clothes bought with the *ămerwas*. Among the Shlöḥ a daughter's marriage is not looked upon in the same business-like manner as among other Berbers.

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and ornaments for the bride (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 175). In Upper Egypt, as at Fez, "the bride's father is expected to give a like sum with that paid by the groom,—the entire amount being the bride's portion, which is ordinarily invested in coins or jewelry to be worn by the bride as her exclusive personal property" (Trumbull, *Studies in Oriental Social Life* [Philadelphia, 1894], p. 20). So also at Aleppo in Syria "le prix payé est . . . employé, avec une pareille somme que donne le père de la future, en meubles, ustensiles, effets d'habillement" (Guys, *Un Dervich algérien en Syrie* [Paris, 1854], p. 199). Among the Muhammedans of India "the bride's father is bound to furnish her with a wedding outfit, unless he is in straitened circumstances, when the obligation rests with the husband. When a man advances a sum of money towards the *trousseau* of his future wife, it is obligatory on the father, if he be possessed of means, to do the same or contribute such an amount as is customary" (Ameer Ali, *op. cit.* ii. 508).

[1] M. Michaux-Bellaire ('Quelques tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt,' in *Archives marocaines*, xvii. [1911], p. 128) says that among certain mountain tribes in Northern Morocco the father spends the *ṣdaq* on his daughter's *šwār*, and generally, in addition, uses some money of his own for the same purpose; but in Andjra the word *šwār* is applied only to articles which he buys with his own money, not to those bought with the *ṣdaq*.

CHAPTER III

CEREMONIES IN THE BRIDEGROOM'S HOME PREVIOUS TO THE FETCHING OF THE BRIDE

MUHAMMEDAN law appoints no specific ceremony for the celebration of a marriage; but, to quote Sīdī Ḫalīl, "it is commendable to give a wedding feast, a day after the home-bringing of the bride, and it is incumbent on every guest specifically invited to accept, even though he be fasting."[1] In Morocco custom requires, at least if the parties have not been married before, that a wedding feast should be held in the bridegroom's home, and this is generally a big affair. An old Moorish proverb says that the Christians spend their money on lawsuits, the Jews on religious festivals, and the Moors on weddings.[2]

A wedding is called in Arabic *'ŏrs* or *'ărs*, and in Berber *támĝra* (Shlöḥ), *ţámĝra* (Bråber of the Aiţ Yúsi

[1] Sīdī Ḫalīl, *Muḫtaṣar*, § 289 (Russell and Abdullah al-Ma'mun Suhrawardy, *'A Manual of the Law of Marriage' from the Mukḫtaṣar of Sīdī Ḫalīl* [London, *s.a.*], p. 102). Respecting marriage feasts, the Prophet is reported to have said:—"The first day's feast is an incumbent duty; and the second day's, a sunneh ordinance; and the third day's, for ostentation and notoriety (Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages* [London, 1883], p. 232 *sq.*). *Cf.* El-Buḫārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxvii. 67 *sqq.*, French translation by Houdas and Marçais, vol. iii. (Paris, 1908), p. 578 *sqq.*

[2] Diego de Torres, *Relacion del origen y sucesso de los Xarifes* (Sevilla, 1586), p. 261.

and Aiṭ Nḏēr), *ṯámăğra* (Aiṭ Sáddĕn), *ḏámăğra* (Aiṭ Wäryâğäl), *úrär* (Aṭ Ubáḫṭi and neighbouring tribes), or *íslạn* (Ait Waráin). A bridegroom is called in Arabic *'ărûs*, *ărûṣ* (Northern Morocco), or *'ărîs* (Fez, Dukkâla, etc.), and in Berber *ísli* (Aglu, Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Sáddĕn), *ásli* (Iglíwa, Ait Táměldu, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi), or *ạ́sri* (Aiṭ Wäryâğäl); a bride, in Arabic *'ărûsa*, *'ărûṣa*, or *'ărûṣ* (Ḥiáina), and in Berber *tíslit* (Aglu), *ṯíslit* (Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Sáddĕn), *táslit* (Iglíwa, Ait Táměldu), *ṯáslit* (Aṭ Ubáḫṭi), or *ḏásrit* (Aiṭ Wäryâğäl).

Marriages are commonly celebrated in the autumn, when the harvest has come to an end and the granaries are full of corn.[1] The Ait Waráin, for example, never hold a wedding at any other time of the year; whereas among the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi weddings also, though less frequently, take place in the spring, and among the Ait Táměldu in other seasons as well, whenever it suits the parents of the *fiancé*. Marriages are avoided in Moḥarram, the first month of the Muhammedan year, at least by shereefs;[2] and according to Mālikī law no valid marriage can be contracted by a person while on pilgrimage.[3] At Tangier Thursday is considered to be

[1] Among the peasantry of many European countries marriages are likewise celebrated by preference in the autumn or the beginning of the winter; "man heirathet, wenn die Ernte geborgen ist,—das ist die hier allgemein vorwaltende Anschauungsweise" (v. Schroeder, *Die Hochzeitsbräuche der Esten und einiger andrer finnisch-ugrischer Völkerschaften, in Vergleichung mit denen der indo-germanischen Völker* [Berlin, 1888], p. 48 *sq.*). *Cf.* van Gennep, *Les Rites de passage* (Paris, 1909), p. 199.

[2] The Egyptians consider it unlucky to make a marriage contract in Moḥarram (Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* [London, 1896], p. 432).

[3] Sīdī Ḫalīl, *op. cit.* § 49 (p. 16):—"The marriage will be invalid, if any one of these three [viz. the bridegroom, the bride, and the *walī*] be in [the condition of] *iḥrām*." *Cf. ibid.* § 66 (p. 23); Ameer Ali, *Mahommedan Law*, ii. (Calcutta, 1908), p. 324; El-Buḫārī, *op. cit.* lxvii. 31, vol. iii. p. 561.

the most suitable day for the fetching of the bride, in Andjra and among the Ait Tâměldu either Sunday or Thursday, and among the Aiṭ Wäryâġäl and Aiṭ Sâddĕn Thursday or Monday.[1] The eve of Friday, the Sabbath of the Muhammedans, is regarded by them as a blessed night; and Sunday is considered a suitable time for the beginning of married life as being the first day of the week.[2] It is also held to be the most favourable day for the beginning of the autumn ploughing, though in some tribes Thursday and Monday are likewise regarded as suitable for this purpose.[3] Among the Tsūl, again, the bride may be brought to her new home on any day but Tuesday, and among the Ait Waráin on any day but Friday.[4] The Ulâd Bu-'Ăzîz

[1] In Cairo, according to Lane (*Modern Egyptians*, p. 175 *sq.*), "the bridegroom should receive his bride on the eve of Friday or that of Monday; but the former is generally esteemed the more fortunate period." According to Burckhardt (*Arabic Proverbs* [London, 1830], p. 114), on the other hand, Monday and Thursday are the days on which the ceremonies immediately previous to the marriage-night are performed; but Lane (*op. cit.* p. 574) denies the accuracy of this statement so far as Monday is concerned. In Tripoli, as in Morocco and Egypt, Thursday night is a favourite night for weddings (Mrs. Todd, *Tripoli the Mysterious* [London, 1912], p. 94). Among the Turks "Donnerstag ist der allgemeine Heirathstag. Infolge der Empfängniss des Propheten Mohammed, wird die Nacht, die von Donnerstag auf Freitag folgt, als die günstigste betrachtet; sie muss daher auch die erste Hochzeitsnacht sein. Witwen und Geschiedene heirathen am Montag" (Löbel, *Hochzeitsbräuche in der Türkei* [Amsterdam, 1897], p. 25 n. 1). Among European peoples Tuesdays and Thursdays are frequently considered the most suitable days for weddings (v. Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 51 *sq.*; Sartori, *Sitte und Brauch*, i. [Leipzig, 1910], p. 60).

[2] *Cf.* Trumbull, *Studies in Oriental Social Life* (London, 1895), p. 49:—"Sunday is a favorite day with Muhammadans for the beginning of an enterprise."

[3] See Westermarck, *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco* (*Öfversigt af Finska Vetenskapssocietetens Förhandlingar*, Bd. liv. 1911–1912, Afd. B. N:o 1), p. 8.

[4] Addison (*West Barbary* [Oxford, 1671], p. 183) says that a bride must not be taken to her new home on a Tuesday, Wednesday, or Friday. In ancient Rome marriages of virgins were not celebrated on "high holidays" (Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae*, 105).

celebrate their weddings at full moon in order to be safe from robbers.

The wedding proper is preceded by certain ceremonies in the homes of both bridegroom and bride. We have first to notice those connected with the cleaning of the wheat which is to be used for the wedding.

In a village in the Ġarbîya where I was staying the women of the various households came in groups to the place where the *fiancé* was living, each group carrying a flag and every woman taking with her some loaves of bread, salt butter, eggs, and one or two small coins, as presents to the young man's mother. They sat down in a tent pitched for this occasion, on the top of which four flags were flying, and began to clean the wheat before them. The children of the village were standing outside the tent, while the men and bigger boys were gathered under a large shady tree out of sight. When the wheat had been cleaned and put in baskets, some guns were fired off and a meal was served out of the presents brought by the women and other provisions supplied by the father of the *fiancé*. All the villagers partook of this meal, first the men and boys together and afterwards the women. The wheat was subsequently taken to a mill to be ground. The occasion in question is in the Ġarbîya called *tâḫrîj*, [the] "taking out" [of the corn from the place where it is kept], or *tâsyēr*, "sifting." In the neighbouring mountain tribe Jbel lă-Ḥbîb it is named *ᵗâsyār*.

In Andjra the day when the corn is cleaned in the

young man's house is called *nhār n-nqa ḏel-ʿărûṣ*, "the bridegroom's day of cleaning." Four flags on the roof of his house indicate the importance of the occasion. In the yard there is lying a great quantity of wheat, barley, and durra. In one of the heaps is thrust a dagger, and on the top of it is placed a bowl containing a raw egg and some salt. The object of the dagger and salt is to keep away evil spirits from the corn, whilst the egg is put there "that the wedding shall be without rain and the life of the bridegroom shall be white"—the whiteness of the egg representing fine weather and a bright life. The unmarried women of the village sit down round the heaps to perform the principal business of the day, the cleaning of the corn; but before they commence, the father of the *fiancé* sprinkles some salt both on them and the heaps as a safeguard against the spirits. The girls are singing while doing the work; the married women, standing behind them, make their usual quivering noise; and the bachelors repeatedly fire off their guns, which is also supposed to frighten away the evil spirits. When the cleaning of the wheat is finished the women and bachelors are, separately, entertained with *kŭsksu* and meat, after which they all go away. The flags are left on the house till the day when the bridegroom has the henna washed off his hands. The rubbish which has been removed from the corn is put by his mother in some clean place, as it must not be defiled. The egg in the bowl is buried by her under the threshold of the house that it shall be stepped over by the young couple,

whose lives are thereby supposed to become happy; and the salt is taken by the young man and placed in the roof over the bed where he will sleep with his wife.

Among the Tsûl, another Arabic-speaking mountain tribe, belonging to the southern Jbâla, the wedding is preceded by a similar occasion, called *n-nâ̆qa*, when the wheat is cleaned in the house of the *fiancé's* father, at the top of which has been fastened a bamboo cane with a white flag, to remain there till the wedding is over. All the women of the village, married and unmarried, assemble at the house, and are entertained with bread and figs before they commence their work. While some of them are cleaning the wheat the others dance and sing, clapping their hands; and when they get tired the latter take to the work and the former begin to dance. The following song is sung both by those who are amusing themselves and those who are cleaning the wheat:—*Hādâ ʿârsāk a ḫayyî, hādâ ma kutˢ tˢāntˢmḗnna; farḥô lak bnātˢ ʿammák, ḍâfrô râshum bă l-ḥānná*, "This is your wedding O my brother, this is what I wished for; the daughters of your father's brother rejoiced for your sake, they plaited the hair of their head with henna." When the women clean the wheat they put the grit in a bowl with a raw egg in it; and on the evening when the bridegroom is painted with henna the first time, his sister takes this vessel and throws its contents into a spring in order that there shall be much rain for the good of the crops and that the newly married man shall be liked by the community. After the wheat has been cleaned, it is distributed

among the various households of the village to be ground the same night. In the morning the women come back to the house each with a sieve (*ġårbāl*) to sift the flour. This occasion is therefore called *tˢġårbīl*, "sifting."

Among the Arabs of the Ḥiáina there is likewise a white flag on the roof of the house where the wheat is going to be cleaned; and when the days of the wedding have come to an end, it is blown to pieces with guns, so that the *bąs*, or evil, shall go away. The women of the village clean the wheat in the daytime and, after supper, grind it with the handmills which they brought with them. During the grinding, which in the case of a big wedding takes two nights, the men also come to the place to amuse themselves with playing and singing together with the women. The wheat must not be taken to other houses to be ground; this is done at a funeral and would consequently be bad at a wedding. This feast, which is called *ţ-ţḥēn*, "the flour," is the next day followed by the *tˢġårbīl*, when the women all the day long are busied with sifting the flour and are entertained with *ţă'âm* (*sěksu*).

Among the Aiţ Sáddĕn the wheat is cleaned in the yard of the *fiancé's* father by all the women of the village. The grit is collected in a sieve (*ţăllunţ*) containing a silver bracelet (*adĕblij*) and the bridle (*algᵘâmû*) which will be put on the mare ridden by the bride when shé is taken to her new home. This grit is afterwards thrown by the young man's mother into a spring or river or buried in the ground, so that nobody

shall work magic with it. The men of the village are also present on this occasion, and there is much powder-play, singing, music, and dancing. The women are entertained with bread and butter and perhaps tea, or with *ṭṭă'âm* and milk, but no meat; and a meal is likewise given to the bachelors. This day is called *ass úfṛan*, "the day of the cleaning of the corn." The work may have to be continued on the following day, but without any feasting connected with it. The cleaned wheat is then sent to be ground at Fez or Ṣĕfru or a place on the river Sbū where there is a water-mill, unless the quantity is very small, in which case the women of the village grind it with their handmills at the place where it was cleaned. The day when the flour is brought back from the mill is called *ass n-yízüḍ*, "the day of the flour"; and it is then received on the road by the men and women of the village with singing, music, and powder-play. On the same occasion the clothes and ornaments of the bride are also, in many cases, brought from the town.

Among the Aiṭ Nḍĕr the wheat which has been cleaned by the women of the village in the tent of the *fiancé's* father is at night ground in the same place with a few handmills, each of which is turned by two women, married or unmarried. Men are also present; and it is considered a good omen that the bachelors take part in the grinding, replacing one of the women at the mill when she gets tired. While the grinding is going on the women are singing, and the unmarried men who take part in the work sing with them, while

other men are firing off their guns outside the tent. Both at the cleaning and the grinding of the wheat the people are entertained with food. After the grinding, which, if the young man's father is a man of means, may have lasted for several nights, a long bamboo cane with a white kerchief tied to it is thrust through the tent or fastened to one of the tent-poles as an indication of the coming wedding. This is done in the morning, and, when the flag is seen, visitors in large numbers come to the tent, where they are treated with bread and salt butter. This occasion is called *bäṭṭû*. The next day some men and women, by invitation of the young man's father, go to the thicket with their animals to bring home fuel; and when they come back they are rewarded with a meal of bread and salt butter.

Among the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi, in conformity with the custom of most other tribes, a cane with a white flag is put on the top of the tent of the *fiancé's* father on the morning of the day when the cleaning of the wheat begins, and is left there over the whole wedding. The men of the village also come to the place and fire off their guns inside and outside the tent. The grit is afterwards thrown by the young man's mother or sister into a river, water-course, or spring, partly in order to prevent anybody doing harm to the bridegroom or bride by practising magic with it, but partly also to make the season rainy and the crops good. After the wheat has been cleaned it is washed, dried, and ground in the handmills brought to the tent. If the *fiancé's* father is fairly well-off, the grinding lasts for several days

and nights, during which the women are not only busy with the work, but also amuse themselves with singing, playing, and dancing, and the men discharge gunpowder inside and outside the tent, sometimes also taking part in the grinding and singing, which is supposed to bring good luck. When the grinding is finished some men of the young man's family go to the thicket to gather fuel. All this time the *fiancé* himself is not to be seen, but spends his days and nights in another tent with his *ḍuzir*, or best-man.

Among the Shlöḥ of Glawi, some time before the wedding, there is the so-called *iġwîs*, or cleaning of wheat or barley in the house of the *fiancé's* father. When the women of the village come to do the work they bring with them small presents of food. A meal is given them both before and after the work, and the latter meal is followed by dancing. The Ait Tâměldu call this occasion *ḍfṛan*. Among the Ruâfa of the Aiṭ Wäryâġäl, on the other hand, there is no such ceremony, but the young man's father during the week preceding the wedding goes about with a mule to all the houses in his own village, as also to those of friends living in other villages, distributing wheat to be ground by the women.

As appears from some of these statements, a superstitious importance is frequently attached to the grit which has been removed from the wheat. Care is taken that it should not fall into the hands of anybody who might practise sorcery with it, or it is thrown into water to produce rain for the benefit of the crops.

Among the Aiṭ Yúsi, again, it is thrown on the floor of the bridegroom's tent or house in order that the wedding shall be attended by many guests—as many as are the pieces of grit; and at Amzmüz, when the bride is carried into the bridegroom's house, the latter, who is sitting on the roof, throws on her not only dried fruit but also grit removed from the wheat on the day when it was cleaned.

The most important ceremony which takes place in the *fiancé's* home before the fetching of the bride is the painting of him with henna, a colouring matter produced from the leaves of the *Lawsonia inermis*, or Egyptian privet. I shall give some detailed accounts of this custom, the particulars of which vary somewhat in different tribes and places.

In Andjra, the night before the day when the bride is fetched from her old home, a feast called *l-lîlĕt ḍel-ʿărûṣ*, "the bridegroom's night," is celebrated in his father's house. Musicians, *ṭabbâla* and *ġaiyâḍa*, playing on drums and oboes, come and give an evening serenade to the bridegroom (*keimissû ʿălă l-ʿărûṣ*), who is inside the house with his family. The other people of the village are assembled in the yard, and the banging of guns is mixed with the sounds of music. When this performance, called *tˢemsîya*, "the wish of a good evening," has been going on for about half an hour, the bridegroom comes out of the house and welcomes the musicians and other people in the yard, who answer him with a *Nbârăk mösʿŏûḍ*, "Be blessed and lucky."

He invites the musicians to enter the house, or, if it has only one room, a neighbouring house of which he disposes for this occasion. They are there entertained with tea and *kŭsksu* served with mutton or goat's flesh, and the same is offered to the bridegroom's relatives who are sitting inside, whereas the people in the yard have only *kŭsksu* with meat set before them.

After the meal the bachelors ask the musicians to go with them to an open place in the village, which is soon crowded with men and boys attracted there by the music and powder-play. From there they all go to meet the guests from other villages, who are now approaching in a body with dancing-boys and dancing-girls, the latter being the only women among them; and the whole party then proceed to the bridegroom's house, where they are received by him with a greeting of welcome, which they answer with the words, *Nbârăk mös'ŭûd ma mâši t'á'mel*, "May it be blessed and lucky what you are going to do." The musicians retire to the room they occupied before and are there again entertained with a meal, this time without *kŭsksu*; and food is likewise given to the people in the yard. This meal is followed by several hours of music, singing, and dancing performed by the prostitutes from other villages.

Towards daybreak the bachelors call out the bridegroom, cover him up with a *ḥâyĕk*,[1] and walk with him

[1] The *ḥâyĕk* is a long, rectangular, and seamless piece of white woollen cloth, worn without fastenings by men and women; it is also called *ksā*, especially when made of finer material. See *infra*, p. 166 n.; Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* (Amsterdam, 1845), p. 147 *sqq.*; Meakin, *The Moors* (London, 1902), p. 51 *sqq.*; Doutté, *Merrâkech* (Paris, 1905), p. 248 *sqq.*

and the musicians to the open place in the village. From there they slowly march back to the yard, the bridegroom surrounded by the bachelors, who are carrying four flags, and behind them come the musicians playing their instruments. The bridegroom is now and as long as the wedding lasts regarded as a sultan and the bachelors as his ministers (*wazâra* or *wůzra*). The latter are singing :

Ỿā ʿaḏîmu ḏū l-ᵈjalâl yā allâhu yā allâh ; l-mūsûfu bi l-kamâlâlāl, yā ʿăzîzu yā răbbî,

O great Majesty O God, O God ; the one who is girded with a sword[1] good luck to him for ever, O dear one, O God.

On their arrival in the yard the bridegroom sits down with his face still covered and the *wazâra* seat themselves round him, while the women present are standing. His mother comes out from the house, carrying in one hand a bowl containing henna, an egg, and four candles, and in the other a bottle filled with water. She places the bowl and the bottle on the ground, and addresses her son with the words :—*Àllâh yerḍ ʿălik*, "May God be gracious to you." The bridegroom's best-man, who is called sometimes *l-ḥâjeb ḏeṣ-ṣůlṭan*, "the Sultan's chamberlain," sometimes *l-uzîr*, "the vizier," takes the bowl, lights the candles, and gives them to the bachelors who are holding the flags and kneeling before the Sultan. He breaks the egg, mixes it with the henna, and asks the bachelor next to him to pour some water over it. While slowly stirring this mixture with the little finger of his

[1] This epithet is given to the bridegroom although he wears no sword in Andjra. In the neighbouring tribe of the Faḥṣ he wears one.

right hand, he sings as follows, the other *wazâra* chorusing his words :

Bismillâh r-raḥmân r-raḥîm yā allâh
ʿIḏ bi llâh meṇ š-šeiṭân r-rajîm yā allâh
Qáddemna sîyiḏna Būlâl u yā allâh
Qáddemna sîyiḏna ʿUtˢmạn u yā allâh
Qáddemna sîyiḏna ʿÊṣa u yā allâh
Qáddemna sîyiḏna ʿAlî u yā allâh
Sīfâtˢû tˢâḥkî nĕ l-qīmâr u yā allâh
Medd yiddék nḥânniû lek āyâ mūlâi
Medd yiddék mnẹ kmâmâk āyâ mūlâi
L-yūm wâqfétˢ iyūmâk āyâ mūlâi,

In the name of God the merciful and compassionate, O God
I take refuge with God from the devil, the stoned one, O God
We have made our lord Būlāl our leader and O God
We have made our lord ʿUtˢmạn our leader and O God
We have made our lord ʿÊṣa (Jesus) our leader and O God
We have made our lord ʿAlī our leader and O God
His face is like the moon and O God
Stretch out your hand we shall paint you with henna, O my lord
Stretch out your hand from your sleeve, O my lord
To-day your luck has stood up, O my lord.

The vizier applies henna to the palm of the bridegroom's right hand and then to the left palm, after which his little fingers are dipped into the bowl ; and the vizier further smears some henna on his own hands.

After this ceremony is accomplished and the women have retired, the vizier orders the musicians to play, takes the four burning candles and puts them in the bowl containing the rest of the henna-mixture, lifts the bowl on his head, and begins to dance before the Sultan. After a while he hands the bowl with its contents to another bachelor, who does the same ; and thus all the *wazâra* dance in turn with the bowl on their heads till

the last one lets it drop down on the ground and break. This is supposed to remove *l-bąs*, that is, "the evil." The Sultan now retires to his room and the people are entertained with *kŭsksu* and meat. The bridegroom has his meal in the company of his family so as not to be seen eating by anybody else, and it is the custom that he should restrict himself to a very small quantity of food; indeed, throughout the wedding he must neither eat nor drink in public, but, if he needs it, a little food or water is given to him secretly by the vizier when it is dark. After the meal the guests go away, and the musicians have a rest.

Among the Jbâla of the Tsūl the painting of the bridegroom with henna is connected with ceremonies which differ in various points from those which we have just described. The first time it takes place in the evening of the day when the flour is sifted in his father's house. Dressed in a white cloak (*sĕlhām*),[1] with a sword hanging over his right shoulder, the bridegroom comes walking to the house, accompanied by the bachelors and young married men of the village. The procession is headed by a young girl, the daughter of his father's brother, who is waving a silk kerchief towards the bridegroom, though they are separated by two men who, immediately in front of the latter, are crossing their swords to drive away evil spirits; there is no other

[1] The *sĕlhām* is a hooded cloak made of one piece of cloth, without sleeves, and open down the front; it requires no fastenings, the front of it being caught together for a couple of inches to keep the hood on the head (*cf.* Meakin, *op. cit.* p. 59; *Idem*, *An Introduction to the Arabic of Morocco* [London, 1891], p. 51). The *sĕlhām* is a more aristocratic garment than the *jĕllāb*, on which see *infra*, p. 114 n.

woman in the procession besides her. The men are singing :

Ā zâidu bă ṣ-ṣalaᶜû ā lâlla, ā mûlại Mûḥammed, ā lâlla,

Oh go on with the prayer, O lady, O my lord Muḥammed, O lady.

When they are approaching the house they sing :

Ā bâba ḥáyyi, ā injjik alláh ; ā qṭib r-rêḥan, ā injjik alláh,

O father, my brother, oh may God save you ; O switch of myrtle, oh may God save you.

On the arrival of the procession in the yard, the bridegroom sits down on a *mézwud*, or skin-sack, filled with clothes, and has his hands painted on both sides with henna by a daughter of his father's brother. Behind the bridegroom stands another girl-cousin of his, or some other girl from his village, holding in her hand the point of his hood with a silver bangle slipped over it. The assembled people, one by one, put money on a palmetto tray covered with a kerchief, on which has been placed another silver bangle for the purpose of making the contributions plentiful, while a *bérraḥ*, or crier, calls out the name of every donor and the amount given by him. This collection is afterwards taken by the bridegroom's father ; but some other money, intended for the bridegroom himself, is pushed into his mouth, where he leaves it till the ceremony is over. While he is being painted with henna all the women sing :—

Mʷadd yiddék, nḥânnihâ yā ḥayyî,

Extend your hand, I shall paint it with henna O my brother.

When this ceremony has come to an end and the bridegroom is gone, the girl who painted him with henna puts the bowl on her head and dances with it singing :

Ma tištaḥ bĕ z-zlĭfa ġār lli hîya ḍrîfa,

May only she who is beautiful dance with the small bowl.

The other women also join in the song. At last she takes the bowl from her head and throws it on the ground so that it breaks, and thereby, it is thought, rids the bridegroom of his *bąs*. But previous to this, the raw egg which was put into the bowl together with the henna is removed from it to be used in the same manner at the second painting of the bridegroom, after which it is boiled with the liver of the sheep slaughtered on the latter occasion. They are eaten together by the bride and bridegroom for supper the second night they pass together, the liver for the purpose of making them dear to one another, and the egg that their future shall be bright.

The occasion just described is called *l-ḥånna ṣ-ṣġêra* "the little henna," and is followed the next evening by *l-ḥånna l-kbîra*, "the great henna," when the bridegroom is painted for the second time, with ceremonies similar to those of the night before. But the latter feast is on a much larger scale. While "the little henna" was only attended by relatives of the bridegroom and folk from his own village, "the great henna" attracts people from near and afar, who bring with them *sĕksu* and meat as a present to the bridegroom's father. The former evening no such gifts

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were offered him; but on both occasions all the persons present are entertained with a meal.

Among the Arabs of the Ḥiáina the bridegroom has likewise his hands painted with henna on the day when the flour is sifted in his father's house; but it is done privately by women of his family, and round either hand is then tied a kerchief to prevent the henna from rubbing off. From this tying up of his hands the ceremony which takes place the same evening is called *r-rbēṭ*. Men and women from his own and neighbouring villages are invited to take part in it. There is singing, playing, and feasting; the men eat first and the women afterwards, whilst the bridegroom has his meal in another house together with his bachelor friends, called *islạn*, which is the plural form of the Berber word *isli*, "bridegroom." He has had his head shaved the same day, he is dressed in new clothes given to him by his parents, and on his feet he has a pair of new slippers bought with money out of the bride's share of the *ṣdaq*. After they all have eaten, he walks in a procession to the place where the people are assembled, with the *islạn* behind him and two or three women fanning his face in front of him. He is now addressed as "Sultan," and close to him walks "the vizier" (*l-uzîr*). He wears a sword at his side, the hood of his cloak is pulled down over his eyes, his mouth is covered by the *ḥâyḏk*, and the backs of his slippers are pulled up. He sits down on a carpet (*zarbîya*) with a *mézwud* under him, so that he shall

not be affected by *bạs* (evil influences), or, as I was also told, that his own *bạs* shall go into the sack. The vizier is standing on his right side keeping the *ḥâyḕk* of the Sultan in a fold under his chin so that the people can put money into it. Behind the Sultan a number of girls are making a quivering noise, and so is his sister or the other woman of his family who stands next to him keeping her hand round the point of his hood, over which has been slipped a silver bangle (*démlīj*), as among the Tsūl. In front of him there is a palmetto tray (*meidûna*) covered with a silk kerchief (*sĕbnîya*), on which has been placed a bowl (*zlậfa*) containing flour and rock-salt, the object of the latter being to protect the Sultan against *jnūn*, or evil spirits. An elderly woman of his family, by preference his father's sister, keeps his bound-up right hand with the palm upwards in the bowl, and slowly rubs the kerchief covering it with flour. Meanwhile the girls are repeatedly singing :

Mal îdak l-ḥâni yā ḥáyyi,

Extend your hand, the red one, O my brother.

The people are putting money on the table, in the bowl, and in the folds of the Sultan's *ḥâyḕk*, while one of the *islạn* cries out, *Allâh m'a sîdi flạn*, *kätt'ár allâhu ḥáirek a sîdi flạn*, "May God be with my lord so-and so (mentioning the name of the donor), may God increase your wealth, O my lord so-and-so." They also try to knock money on the Sultan's head, but the young woman who is keeping his hood catches the blow and takes the money for herself. Some coins

are likewise given to the girls who are making the quivering noise. The money put on the table is taken by the young man's parents, who buy with it sugar and candles for the wedding ; the money put into the bowl is for the woman who is rubbing his hand with flour ; and that which is placed in the fold of his *ḥâyḕk* he keeps for himself. But the sums given on this occasion are not great. When the performance has come to an end, the vizier says, *Ā men jâna ijih l-ḫair*, "O he who has come to us, may wealth come to him." And the women sing :—*Kătt'ár lláhu ḫáirkum a lă-'zâra kúllkum*, "May God increase your wealth, O bachelors all of you." The Sultan gets up, some men who are carrying swords unsheath them to beat him, the vizier draws his master's sword to defend him, and they both run away in haste.[1] While this is going on, some of the women are making a quivering noise.

On the evening of the following day, just before the bride arrives at her new home, the same ceremony is repeated, with the difference however that this time the flour, again mixed with salt, is rubbed on the bridegroom's bare hand, and that much more money is given than on the previous occasion. When the procession is coming, two of the *íslạn* go in front of the Sultan clashing their swords together, and the ceremony again ends with the flight of the Sultan and his vizier. It should be added that the bridegroom at the *rbḕṭ* carries on him some *ḥármel* (seed of *Peganum Harmala*), *fâsoḫ*

[1] Among the Tsūl no attempts are made to beat the bridegroom, nor does he run away.

(gum-ammoniac), rock-salt (*l-mélḥa l-ḥáyya*), and other charms against *jnūn*; and both he and the *isl̤an* paint their eyes with antimony and their lips with walnut root.

Among the Ulâd Bu-ʿĂzîz the bridegroom is painted with henna after the bride has arrived at her new home. While she and her female friends are sitting behind a curtain inside the bridegroom's tent, the following ceremony takes place in the yard. With his eyes and face hidden behind the hood of his cloak the bridegroom sits astride on a saddle which has been placed there for the purpose. He holds out his right hand, the palm of which is slowly smeared with henna by his aunt or sister or some other woman of his family, but not his mother. While this is going on, all the people present come one by one and drop a coin on the palmetto tray which is close by the bridegroom. In front of him is sitting a crier, *l-bĕrrâḥ*, who with words of blessing calls out the names of the donors; and their praises are in addition sung by four women singers (*mġanniaṯ*), who stand behind the bridegroom each with a tambourine (*taʿrêja*) in her hand. The money put on the tray becomes the property of the bridegroom, but the donors also give a small coin to the crier and the singers.

Among the Brâber of the Ait Waráin the ceremony called *lḥânni támzziant*, "the little henna," takes place on the day after the wheat has been ground. In the afternoon men and women of the village, as also friends

from other villages, assemble in the house or tent of the bridegroom's father. The bachelors, who are particularly numerous on this occasion, sit together with the bridegroom in a room or tent by themselves. They have their supper first, then the other men, and lastly the women, the bridegroom's father attending to the male and his mother to the female guests. Whilst the mother remains with the women in the tent or room where they are sitting, the father retires before the arrival of the bridegroom and his bachelor companions. The young man has had his head shaved the same day. He wears a white cloak (*ȧheddun*, the Arabic *sĕlhām*) with its hood drawn over his face—it must be white so that his days shall be white. Over his shoulder is hanging a sword ; and over his head two of the bachelors—the future *ɪ̄berrȧḥă̆n*—are crossing their swords. He sits down on a *tamzitt* (the Arabic *mĕzwud*) placed on a new mat in the middle of the house or, if there is no house, in the yard (*ạ̇sun*) outside the tent. He is regarded as a sultan (*ȧjellid*) and appoints one of the bachelors to be his vizier (*luzîr*) ; his most intimate bachelor friends bid for the post, and he gives it to the one who offers him the largest sum of money—a sum which is afterwards more or less refunded when the vizier gets married himself. What now follows is very similar to the corresponding ceremony in the Ḥiȧina. On the right side of the Sultan stands his vizier and behind him a young sister of his, married or unmarried, keeping hold of the point (*ȧilmus*) of his hood, over which has been slipped a silver bangle (*ademlij*) as a

means of bringing good luck, and making a quivering noise, while her brother is being painted with henna. In front of him there is a tray (*tänduti*) of palmetto or esparto, covered with a silk kerchief (*tásebništ*) on which is placed a bowl (*táqnušt*) with henna. Close to the tray is sitting an aunt, maternal or paternal, of the bridegroom or, if he has none, some other elderly woman, by preference of his mother's kin, who slowly paints the palms of his hands with henna. In front of the tray stand two criers (*ʒberrâḥän*) crossing their swords and, when a person puts down money on the kerchief, calling out, "God be with so-and-so, he gave such-and-such a sum"; but they only bestow this blessing on a donor who gives a coin to them also. The first coin however, which is given by a near relative of the bridegroom, is not put on the kerchief but into his right hand, where it is painted with henna; being of silver it is considered to bring good luck. The vizier collects the money, all the time taking notice of the donors and watching that the coins given correspond to the amount called out; but afterwards he gives it to the bridegroom, who distributes it among the bachelors so that they shall buy gunpowder with it. The people also remember the bridegroom's sister, who is standing behind him making the quivering noise, by putting coins between her lips. When the Sultan gets up, the bachelors who have been standing round him try to beat him gently with their hands or with sticks, while the vizier defends him, beating the aggressors in return; and at last they both escape to a room in the house or

to another tent, leaving the bachelors behind to break the bowl. This breaking of the bowl, and also the painting of the bridegroom with henna, the crossing of swords over his head, and the beating of him, are all ceremonies said to be calculated to remove or keep away evil. Later on the vizier calls the other bachelors to come and spend the night in the company of the Sultan, who early in the morning distributes among them the money handed over to him by the vizier, as said before.

After breakfast they all set out for a tour to neighbouring villages. The Sultan rides on a horse with a sword hanging by his side and the hood of his cloak drawn over his face. On his right walks the vizier, waving a silk kerchief towards his head as if he were a real sultan, and on his left a bachelor carrying a stick with a white flag representing the shereefian umbrella. In front of them walk the other bachelors discharging volleys of gunpowder when they approach and when they leave a village. The band are not only entertained with food in the villages they visit but also receive money and a live sheep, the money being collected by the vizier. While the Sultan, with the latter, remains in a village, he sends the other bachelors in small groups of four or five men in different directions to ask for money or, in default of such, some other present of every traveller they meet on the road ; if he is a native of the tribe they actually compel him to contribute, whereas they are less exacting in the case of a stranger. Thus they travel about from village to village for seven

days, and when they return from their tour, the money collected, as also that which is got by selling the sheep and other presents, is again divided among the bachelors, who buy gunpowder with it.

On the evening of the day when they come back there is "the great henna," *lḥânni támqqrant.* The Sultan and his vizier hide themselves in some place outside the village, while the rest of the bachelors and the other guests are entertained with a big meal at the house of the bridegroom's father. After they have eaten the question is raised, "Where is the bridegroom?" The bachelors go to search for him; when he is found the vizier takes him on his back and runs away with him; but they are caught, and now they all walk in a procession to the house, two of the bachelors again crossing their swords over the bridegroom's head. On their arrival there the *ŕrma*, or huntsmen, form a ring and move slowly round their chief, who is in the centre. At a signal from him they all stop and fire off their guns at the same time, after which each of them throws his gun up into the air and catches it again when it falls down. This is done three times, while the women make their usual quivering noise. The bridegroom is then painted with henna with all the ceremonies of the former occasion, though the money now given is taken not by him but by his father. This time he wears his slippers with pulled-up backs. He is hastily carried away on the back of the vizier, while the other bachelors are again busy breaking the bowl; but they are caught and beaten by the latter, who in

their turn are beaten by the vizier. The whole company then retire to the bridegroom's room, where they spend the night, remaining there till the bride arrives.

Among the Aiṭ Nḏēr the ceremonies attending the painting of the bridegroom with henna are on the whole, though not in every detail, similar to the *lḥânni tâmzziant* of the Ait Waráin. On the morning of the day when it is going to take place, invitations are conveyed to neighbouring villages by two men of his family who ride about on horseback, one holding in his hand a stick to which is attached as a flag a kerchief bought for the bride with money from the *ṣṣḍaq*. Among the Aiṭ Nḏēr the young man has not only his hands but also his feet smeared with henna by a married woman belonging to his family. When the painting is finished, he is carried away by the bachelors to the tent where they are going to spend the night together. One of the women puts the henna bowl on her head and dances with it, after which it is passed to other women, who dance with it in their turn ; but the bowl is not allowed to fall.

Somewhat different are the corresponding ceremonies among the neighbouring Berbers of the Aiṭ Sáddĕn. On the day following the *asġûrṭ* the bridegroom has his hands painted with henna on both sides, by either his sister or some female cousin of his. This, however, is done not in his own home but in the house of a relative or friend, and he is on that and following days taken about to many other houses to have his hands

smeared with henna over and over again, so that at last they become quite black. He is entertained with a meal in the houses to which he is invited, and on the first day he puts some money in the vessel containing the henna, giving the largest sum the first time he is painted. This is often the only henna-ceremony to which the bridegroom is subject, but it also occurs that he is painted once more on the day when the bride is brought to his home, or one or two days later. The latter henna-ceremony, which is attended with the giving of money (*lăġramṭ*, the Arabic *ġrâma*) on the part of the guests, is only performed if they are numerous; it is a matter of business, and is therefore often abstained from by people who are afraid of a reputation for greediness.

If it is decided that there shall be such a ceremony, the bridegroom with some friends, all on horseback, makes a tour to neighbouring villages on the morning of the day when the bride is going to be fetched from her home. They are called by the name *imă'râḍđn* (sing. *amă'raḍ*), "inviters," which explains the object of their tour. The bridegroom has his face covered with his *â'bạn* (*ḥâyĕk*) and the hood of the white *âslḥạm* (*sĕlhām*) in which he is dressed; a sword is hanging over his left shoulder, and the backs of his slippers are pulled up. He remains quiet while his friends, galloping on their horses, discharge two or three volleys of gunpowder in every village they visit. Later on in the day, when the guests have arrived, the bridegroom sits down outside his father's house. From a bowl contain-

ing a silver bangle his sister, by preference a child, slowly smears a little henna on the palm of his right hand. Two *iberrâḍḥăn*, who are standing on either side of them crossing their swords, cry out, *Àlláh mʿa sîdi flān*, "God be with my lord so-and-so," every time a person puts down money on the tray (*iswi*) which has been placed near the bridegroom. Two other men, called *imsnḍin*, are sitting close to the tray, watching the amount of money given and putting it under a silk kerchief; they afterwards give an account to the bridegroom of the donors and the sums they presented. Some money is also placed in the bowl containing the henna as a gift to the girl. All the time the women are singing and making their quivering noise.

Among the Aṭ Ubáḥṭi the bridegroom is painted with henna only once, namely on the day before the bride is fetched from her home. It is done by a woman of his family, married or unmarried, but not old, who applies the henna both to his hands and the soles and tops of his feet. He has, as usual, the hood of his cloak drawn over his face, and the backs of his slippers are pulled up. Neither he nor any of his bachelor friends have swords, but he is protected against *jnūn* by carrying a pistol, as also by volleys of gunpowder discharged while he is on his way to the place outside his father's tent where he is painted with henna, and as long as the ceremony lasts. There is the usual quivering noise of women and the giving of money (*lăġrâmĕṭ*) in front of him, the contributions being laid

on a tray covered with a silk kerchief (*ṭâsĕbniḥt*), on which has been placed a raw egg to give good luck to the bridegroom and a good year to the community. In the bowl containing henna, on the other hand, no charm is put; nor is there any dancing with it after the painting is finished. The money is afterwards handed over by the best-man, or *âuzir* ("vizier"), to the bridegroom, who gives part of it to the bride after their first intercourse in case he finds her a virgin. When the young man has been painted with henna, the *âuzir* also smears some henna on the palms of his own hands, and the other bachelors make a line with it on their hands and clothes; the henna is supposed to partake of the bridegroom's *baraka*. When the ceremony is over, the bridegroom walks back to the tent from which he came. He and his bachelor friends are all collectively called *îslân*, plural of *âsli*, "bridegroom"; and here, as elsewhere, the bridegroom is regarded as a sultan.

Among the Ruâfa of the Aiṭ Wäryâġäl, a week before the wedding, the bridegroom has his hands and feet painted with henna by a boy of his family—such as a son of his brother or uncle—who is a first-born child and has not yet had any brothers or sisters, whose parents are alive, and whose name is Muḥammed. This painting is then repeated every evening; it is said that by being smeared with henna the young man is pardoned by God for his sins. He is now called *âjĕddjiḍ*, "sultan," and his bachelor friends are called

iuzîrẹ̈n, "ministers." Accompanied by them and the boy, he spends the days in visiting his relatives and acquaintances in his own and other villages. In every house they are entertained with meat and bread, salt butter and bread, and bread and honey, and are obliged to eat a little of everything. In the evenings the *iuzîrẹ̈n* amuse themselves with powder-play, while the girls are dancing at some distance from them, and they then retire to the bridegroom's house to sleep.

These visits are continued for a whole week before the day when the bride is taken to the bridegroom's house. All this time he affects great bashfulness; when the *iuzîrẹ̈n* amuse themselves in his own village he himself avoids being seen, and whenever he appears in public his head is carefully covered with the hood of his cloak (*djẹ̈ddjạb*, the Arabic *jẹ̈llạ̈b*),[1] which must be black. He wears his slippers (*ihärkûsẹ̈n*) with the backs pulled up from the moment he is painted with henna for the first time till the bride has been brought to his house and he is going to pray before they have their first intercourse; should they be removed or slip off during this period it is believed that he will get ill or die or lose some of his animals. For the same length of time he must abstain from washing himself; the *iuzîrẹ̈n* may wipe his face a little with a damp cloth,

[1] The (d)*jẹ̈llạ̈b*, or (d)*jẹ̈llạ̈ba*, is a man's cloak of any material or colour, "made of a rectangular piece of stuff joined down the front, the upper portion being cut and ingeniously joined to form the hood. Arm-holes slit in the upper corners are supplemented by sleeves a few inches long, made out of the pieces cut out to form the hood. As the width of the made-up garment exceeds the length, the total length of the sleeves is ample, and the draping is perfect. There is usually a small pocket inside the front seam, and in North Morocco those of native cloth are frequently decorated . . . with tufts of silk, if not with embroidery" (Meakin, *The Moors*, p. 58 *sq.*).

but no water must be applied to any other part of his body, not even his hands—it is said that the painting with henna is his washing. If he prays during this time he makes his ablutions without water, either by touching a stone and then performing the usual motions with his hands or by making use of earth; and it is only when he is going to pray for the first time in the presence of the bride that he again makes an ablution with water. Nor is he allowed to change his clothes, except that he puts on a clean shirt for the great ceremony which takes place the evening before the bride is brought to his house.

There is then the so-called *rḥănni amăqqăran*, "the great henna," attended by a large assembly of people. A pack-saddle is put in the yard (*azqaq*), and the women of the village (except the bride and her mother if they live there), as also the women who have come from other villages, sit down round the saddle, leaving an opening in the ring to allow the bridegroom to pass through. Accompanied by the *iuzîrḕn* firing off their guns, he comes to the yard and proceeds through the entrance of the ring to a young girl who is standing inside it holding in her hand a big bowl of henna. He dips the little finger of his right hand into the henna and then retires again. This is repeated three times. When he enters the ring of women for the fourth time, he sits down on the saddle, whilst the *iuzîrḕn* seat themselves outside the ring. On his right stands the young girl with the bowl, which besides henna contains a raw egg, so as to make his life "white";

she must be a girl whose parents are alive, by preference a daughter of the bridegroom's brother or of his paternal or maternal uncle. The men and boys enter one by one to present the bridegroom with money, each putting into his mouth a *bĭlyūn*-piece of silver, or, if the donor is a grown-up man, several such coins, which he spits out into the bowl when his mouth gets filled. But it may also be that some man on this occasion makes him a present of several dollar-pieces, even as many as fifty or a hundred, which are thrown into his lap and then taken from there by his mother or sister, who puts them into the bowl. Such presents, however, are only given by persons who are engaged in blood-revenge and want to humiliate their enemy by showing their wealth. This may lead to a competition between the parties, in which one tries to surpass the other in liberality. The generous donor does not stand there alone, but has behind him his brothers ready to protect him against a revengeful foe, who may perchance be infuriated by his insolence. Instances have occurred in which a blood-feud has broken out on such an occasion in the yard, causing the women and the bridegroom himself to retire. When the giving of money is over, the girl who held the bowl is rewarded with a *bĭlyūn* or two, and also gets the egg, whilst the henna is taken and used by the women of the bridegroom's family.

Passing to the Berbers of Southern Morocco we notice that among the Igliwa of the Great Atlas the

bridegroom has his hands daubed with henna on the three days preceding the bride's arrival; and all this time he is confined in his house, going to the top of it only when he hears the banging of guns heralding the coming of the bridal procession. In Aglu, in Sūs, the palm of his right hand is painted with henna by a woman of his family on the day when the bride is fetched; there is no *ġrâma* on this occasion. Among the Ait Tâměldu the bridegroom smears henna on the inside of the fingers of his right hand on the third evening after the bride has been brought to his house, the so-called *üḍ ně-lḥânna*; but he does so only in case his parents are dead. If they are alive he will be ashamed to make use of henna at his wedding.

The application of henna to the bridegroom is found not only in all the tribes with whose marriage ceremonies I am acquainted,[1] but also in some of the towns.[2] At Tangier, on the evening before the day when the bride arrives, there is a feast in the bridegroom's house, with music on various instruments performed by a band of *awwâdin* (literally "lute-players"); and on this occasion, which is called *l-lîla del-ʿărûs*, "the evening of the bridegroom," he dips the little finger of his right

[1] See also Doutté, *Merrâkech* (Paris, 1905), p. 333 *sq.* (Raḥámna); Salmon, 'Une Tribu marocaine,' in *Archives marocaines*, i. (1904), p. 209 (Faḥṣ); Michaux-Bellaire and Salmon, 'Les Tribus arabes de la vallée du Lekkoûs,' *ibid.* vi. (1906), p. 227 *sqq.* (Ḥlot and Ṭlîq); Michaux-Bellaire, 'Quelques tribus de montagnes de la région du Hâbt,' *ibid.* xvii. (1911), p. 131.

[2] Michaux-Bellaire and Salmon, 'El-Qçar el-Kebir,' in *Archives marocaines*, vol. ii. no. ii. (1904), p. 69; Saïd Boulifa, *Textes berbères en dialecte de l'Atlas marocain* (Paris, 1908), p. 17 (Demnat). For Tangier, *cf.* Meakin, *The Moors* (London, 1902), p. 367.

hand into a bowl of henna which is held by one of the *wazâra*. The following morning he goes to the hot bath accompanied by three or four *wazâra*; but I am told that it formerly was the custom for him to have his bath on the morning of the day when he gave his feast.

The object of applying henna to the bridegroom[1] is to purify him and protect him from evil influences; for henna is considered to contain much *baraka*, and is therefore used as a means of purification or protection on occasions when people think they are exposed to supernatural dangers, as for example at religious feasts.[2] The bridegroom is supposed to be surrounded by such dangers; he is regarded as holy, which is emphasised by the title of Sultan so frequently given him,[3] and

[1] The application of henna to the bridegroom is also found among certain Berber tribes in Algeria (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Les Cérémonies du mariage chez les indigènes de l'Algérie* [Paris, 1901], p. 30; Destaing, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Beni-Snous* [Paris, 1907], p. 288), at Aleppo in Syria (Guys, *Un Dervich algérien en Syrie* [Paris, 1854], p. 201), and among the Muhammedans of the Malay Peninsula (Skeat, *Malay Magic* [London, 1900], p. 375 *sqq.*) and India. With reference to the last-mentioned, Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali (*Observations on the Mussulmauns of India*, i. [London, 1832], p. 377 *sqq.*) states that long-established custom obliges the bride to send *mayndhie* (henna) to the bridegroom on the second night of the nuptials to be applied both to his hands and feet. According to Major Tremearne (*Hausa Superstitions and Customs* [London, 1913], p. 82), the bridegroom is stained with henna among the Hausas also.

[2] See Westermarck, 'The Popular Ritual of the Great Feast in Morocco,' in *Folk-Lore*, xxii. (1911), p. 132 *sqq.*

[3] This is the case not only in Morocco (see also Höst, *Efterretninger om Marókos og Fes* [Kiøbenhavn, 1779], p. 98; Mouliéras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, ii. 'Exploration des Djebala' [Oran, 1899], p. 495; Salmon, in *Archives marocaines*, i. 209 [Faḥs]; Michaux-Bellaire and Salmon, *ibid.* vi. 229 [Ḫloṭ and Ṭlīq]; Doutté, *op. cit.* p. 333 [Raḥámna], but in Algeria as well (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.* p. 41 *sq.*; Destaing, *op. cit.* p. 289). In Syria the bridegroom and bride are regarded as king and queen (Wetzstein, 'Die syrische Dreschtafel,' in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, v. [1873], p. 288), and in the Malay Peninsula they are called "sovereigns of a day" (Skeat, *op. cit.* p. 388).

holiness implies not only that there is supernatural energy in the holy individual or object, but also that they are susceptible to all kinds of baleful influences, especially those of a supernatural kind, like evil spirits, magical tricks, and the evil eye.

We have seen that the henna is applied sometimes to the palm or fingers or little finger of the bridegroom's right hand, sometimes to both hands, and sometimes to his feet as well. The person who paints him may be either his best-man, or a first-born boy with the holy name Muḥammed, or his sister, or some other young woman of his family, or an elderly female relative, by preference his aunt; but among the Aiṭ Sádděn and Aiṭ Yúsi he is painted by other persons besides, in the houses which he visits. The act is generally, but not everywhere, performed before the arrival of the bride. It is sometimes done privately, but more often publicly, and may be repeated more than once. In some tribes there are two henna-ceremonies, "the little henna" and "the great henna," and in others the bridegroom is painted every day for some time before the wedding. In one tribe he is not only privately smeared with henna, but his right hand, or the kerchief round it, is afterwards publicly rubbed with flour; and that the latter ceremony is intended to serve the same purpose as the painting with henna is suggested by the fact that flour on other occasions is used as a means of purification or protection against *jnūn*.[1] In

[1] Westermarck, in *Folk-Lore*, xxii. (1911), p. 142; *Idem*, *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, etc., in Morocco*, p. 50.

certain tribes henna is not only applied to the bridegroom, but is used by his best-man or other bachelor friends as well, who smear it on their hands or clothes; and sometimes all of them paint their eyes and lips with antimony and walnut root, which are also supposed to contain *baraka*.[1]

The washing[2] and shaving[3] of the bridegroom and his dressing himself up in new clothes[4] and new slippers may also be regarded as acts which have a purificatory import,[5] though there are, no doubt, other than superstitious reasons for these practices. The beating of the bridegroom[6] may be a ceremonial punishment inflicted on him by his bachelor friends because he is deserting their class, but it is expressly

[1] See Westermarck, in *Folk-Lore*, xxii. 134.

[2] It is a widespread custom that the bridegroom has a bath before meeting the bride. See Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.* p. 40 *sqq.* (Tlemcen); Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 180, and *Idem*, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 236 (Cairo); Klunzinger, *Upper Egypt* (London, 1878), p. 197; D'Arvieux, *Travels in Arabia the Desart* (London, 1718), p. 232; Van-Lennep, *Bible Lands* (London, 1875), p. 551 (Palestine).

[3] *Cf.* Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.* p. 41 (Tlemcen); Klein, 'Mittheilungen über Leben, Sitten und Gebräuchen der Fellachen in Palästina,' in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vi. (1883), p. 95 (peasants of Palestine).

[4] *Cf.* Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 180; D'Arvieux, *op. cit.* p. 232; Skeat, *op. cit.* p. 380 (Malay Peninsula).

[5] *Cf.* Westermarck, in *Folk-Lore*, xxii. 132; Doutté, *op. cit.* p. 333 *sq.*

[6] In Cairo, immediately before the bridegroom enters his house in order to meet the bride, "his friends leave him, but at parting strike him many times with their hands upon his back; these blows he endeavours to avoid by running in as fast as possible" (Burckhardt, *Arabic Proverbs* [London, 1830], p. 116). In ancient India the bridegroom was chaffed or beaten (Haas, 'Die Heirathsgebräuche der alten Inder,' in Weber's *Indische Studien*, v. [1862], pp. 300, 301, 411). In some parts of Germany he is beaten by the wedding-guests, especially the unmarried ones, "angeblich, damit er fühle, wie Schläge schmecken und seine Frau damit verschone" (Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 88 *sq.*). Mannhardt, who gives many instances of the custom of beating a bridegroom or bride (*Wald- und Feldkulte*, i. [Berlin, 1875], p. 299 *sqq.*), suggests (p. 302) that its object is to expel evil spirits which might otherwise prevent fecundity.

said to rid him of evil influences, and so is the breaking of the bowl by the bachelors or by the girl who painted him with henna;[1] even under ordinary circumstances it is the general belief in Morocco that, if an earthenware vessel falls down and breaks, its owner is thereby freed from his *bas*. The dancing with the bowl and the passing of it from head to head may likewise have a purificatory origin, as is the case with various other ceremonies consisting in some kind of motion,[2] though it may at the same time be supposed to give those who dance with it the benefit of the bridegroom's *baraka*. The presence of burning candles[3] and a bottle of water

[1] At Bajār, when the marriage contract had been made, it was the custom for the guests to throw the bottles of rose-water which they had brought with them against the wall (Fraenkel, 'Aus orientalischen Quellen,' in *Mitteilungen der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde*, xix. [1908], p. 28). In his description of Jewish marriage ceremonies Addison (*The Present State of the Jews* [London, 1676], p. 51) states that in some places "the young Men who wait upon the Bridegroom, at the hearing of the Husband giving the *Missal Tob*, or wishing happiness to his Wife, break certain small Earthen Pots which for that purpose they hold in their hands. And thereby signifie their good wishes of prosperity and health to the New-married Couple." Among the Jews of Morocco, according to the same author (p. 48), the Rabbi, after he has said the prayer which is called the nuptial-blessing, "takes a Glass crowned with Wine, which having blessed and tasted of, he gives to the Bridegroom, who with a suddain Violence breaks it, in memory of the Destruction of the Temple." Nowadays, at Jewish weddings in Morocco, a glass of red wine is offered to the Rabbi, who tastes the wine and then "den Rest in einen Kübel ausgiesst, worin er schliesslich das Glas zerschlägt" (Jansen, 'Mitteilungen über die Juden in Marroko,' in *Globus*, lxxi. [1897], p. 360). At the German *Polterabend* it was the custom that "man in oder vor dem Hause der Braut lärmend Scherben hinwarf oder Töpfe zerbrach" (Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod* [Leipzig & Berlin, 1911], p. 60; Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 72). According to Sartori and Samter, the breaking of earthenware vessels on this occasion was intended partly to frighten away malevolent spirits by the noise, but partly also, perhaps, to serve as an offering to these spirits. As to the second of these suggestions, see *infra*, pp. 257 n. 2, 342 *sq.* On the European custom of breaking objects, and especially food-utensils, see also v. Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 84 *sq.*

[2] Westermarck, in *Folk-Lore*, xxii. 140, 158 *sqq.*; *Idem*, *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, etc., in Morocco*, pp. 22, 95.

[3] Among the Muhammedans of the Malay Peninsula a feature of the so-called "Henna Dance" "is a small cake of henna, which is contained in a brazen cup

is also most probably intended to purify the bridegroom or to keep away evil spirits; fire and water are very common means of purification in Morocco[1] as elsewhere, the *jnūn* love darkness and are terrified by light,[2] and at Fez it is the custom for persons who are afraid of these spirits to have at night a vessel filled with water near their bed. In this connection may be mentioned the tradition of the Shī'ahs that the Prophet, before he gave his daughter in marriage to 'Alī, commanded her to fetch water and then sprinkled both her and 'Alī with it, invoking God to protect them and their offspring against the devil.[3] We have seen that incantations against the devil also occur at the henna-ceremony in Morocco. Moreover, the constant firing of guns,[4] the loud music, and the quivering noise of women, especially of the one who keeps hold of the bridegroom's hood, obviously serve the purpose of purifying the atmosphere and frightening away evil spirits by the noise[5] and, in the case of the powder-

and surrounded by candles. This cup is carried by the dancer, who has to keep turning it over and over without letting the candles be extinguished by the wind arising from the rapid motion" (Skeat, *op. cit.* p. 377).

[1] Westermarck, *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, etc., in Morocco*, pp. 67, 68, 79 *sqq.*; *Idem*, 'Midsummer Customs in Morocco,' in *Folk-Lore*, xvi. (1905), p. 40 *sq.*

[2] *Cf.* Westermarck, 'The Nature of the Arab *Ginn*, illustrated by the Present Beliefs of the People of Morocco,' in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxix. (1900), p. 253.

[3] Goldziher, 'Wasser als Dämonen abwehrendes Mittel,' in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xiii. (1910), p. 31 *sq.* *Cf.* Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, pp. 67-89.

[4] For firing of guns at weddings, see Samter, *op. cit.* p. 41 *sqq.*; *Idem*, 'Hochzeitsbräuche,' in *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, xix. (1907), p. 140 *sq.*

[5] On the making of noise for the purpose of frightening away evil spirits, see Samter, in *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, xix. 139 *sqq.*; *Idem*, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 58 *sqq.*; Sartori, *op. cit.* p. 71 *sq.*

play, also by the smell of powder, of which the *jnūn* are believed to be much afraid. For a similar reason the bridegroom carries a sword,[1] dagger, or pistol ; and the crossing of swords over his head or in front of him is likewise intended to ward off *jnūn*, who are afraid of steel and, especially, of weapons of this metal. The same is the case with his wearing of various charms and the use of salt, which is also a common safeguard against evil spirits.[2] The hood pulled over the bridegroom's face and the *ḥâyĕk* drawn over his mouth are further means of protecting him from baleful influences, especially the evil eye ; and for a similar reason he is confined to his house and eats alone or in company with his family only, although his natural bashfulness, no doubt, has also something to do with all these practices. Being in a delicate condition he must not eat much nor sit on the ground, but must have underneath him a carpet and a sack or a saddle, and the backs of his slippers are pulled up so as to prevent their falling off and his feet coming into contact with the ground ; sometimes, as we have seen, he is even carried away by his bachelor friends.[3] But at the same time there is also a fear that the slippers might come into

[1] *Cf.* Klunzinger, *op. cit.* p. 198 (Upper Egypt).

[2] See Westermarck, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxix. 255. On the use of salt at weddings, see Tremearne, *Hausa Superstitions and Customs*, p. 84 ; Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, ii. (Westminster, 1896), p. 23 ; Sartori, 'Der Schuh im Volksglauben,' in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, iv. (1894), p. 172 (Germany).

[3] In Egypt, if the bridegroom be a youth or young man, one of his friends carries him a part of the way up to the harem ; and Lane (*Modern Egyptians*, p. 182) says that this is done because "it is considered proper that he, as well as the bride, should exhibit some degree of bashfulness." *Cf.* Jaffur Shurreef, *Qanoon-e-islam, or the Customs of the Mussulmans of India* (Madras, 1863), p. 84.

the hands of an enemy who would harm him by working magic with them.[1]

Magical efficacy is attributed to the colour of the cloak worn by the bridegroom. Whilst in one case it must be black, presumably because the black colour is regarded as a protection against the evil eye, it is generally necessary that it should be white, partly, I believe, for the sake of purity, but professedly also in order to make his life bright.[2] This custom leads us to a new class of practices connected with the henna-ceremony, namely such as are intended not merely to keep off or expel evil influences but to bring more positive benefits. The white egg[3] which is put into the bowl or on the tray is expressly said to make the bridegroom's life white and happy, and in one instance to give a good year to the whole community. The silver bangle[3] slipped over his hood or placed in the bowl or on the tray will bring him good luck or prosperity, not only on account of the value of the metal but on account of its whiteness, a quality which is constantly emphasised by the natives when they speak of silver as a charm for good luck. To the same class of practices belongs, at least in part, the giving of *ġrâma*, consisting exclusively of silver coins, which frequently forms so conspicuous a part of the bride-

[1] See *infra*, p. 290.

[2] It appears from Euripides (*Alcestis*, 923) that in Attica, in the fourth century B.C., the bridegroom's dress was white.

[3] Among some Algerian Berbers, at the henna-feast of the bridegroom, "on apporte deux ou trois plats, où un *ḫalḫal* (bracelet que les femmes portent à la cheville) a été posé sur une montagne de viande, d'œufs et de beignets *sefendj*; il faut tout d'abord que le plus adroit des jeunes gens l'enlève, en échange d'une part dans les friandises amoncelées" (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.* p. 30).

groom's henna-ceremony, though there are tribes (*e.g.* Andjra, Aiṭ Yúsi, Aglu, and Ait Támĕldu) in which it is not practised on this occasion. That the ceremony of *ġrâma* also has a magical meaning is indicated by the words said by the vizier when the money-giving has come to an end—"O he who has come to us may wealth come to him;" and its magical significance is, moreover, suggested by the painting of the first coin with henna, as also by the very formal character of the whole practice. The money given is really a loan which has to be repaid in the future under corresponding circumstances, or an indemnity for similar contributions in the past; hence the amounts given by the various donors are most carefully taken note of. Indeed, instances are even reported of prosecutions before the judge on account of unreturned *ġrâma*.[1]

We have still to notice certain ceremonies to which the bridegroom is subject before he goes to meet his bride.

In Andjra, after the musicians have given him a morning serenade, he comes out from his room and presents to the *wazâra* a live bullock, which they take away and kill; and with the meat together with *kŭsksu* the guests are entertained on that day. There is "the

[1] See Michaux-Bellaire and Salmon, 'El-Qçar el-Kebir,' in *Archives marocaines*, ii. 70 n. 1. In Palestine "a feast generally takes place on the evening of the wedding, and the invited guests have to bring presents; a list of these and of their value is made, and when there is a wedding in the family of any of the donors, the bridegroom of this occasion has to give a present of similar value" (C. T. Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land* [London, 1906], p. 112). *Cf.* Guys, *op. cit.* p. 203 (Aleppo).

baraka (holiness) of the Sultan" in that animal. The first part of it which is eaten is the liver, a little piece of it being given to every man and boy; but no woman is allowed to partake of it.

The bridegroom spends part of his day in the mosque of the village in company with his *wazâra*. He feels bashful and, on leaving his refuge, sends some of his men to his mother to fetch a *ḥâyḕk* and four flags attached to bamboo canes. Covered up with the *ḥâyḕk* and accompanied by the *wazâra* and the musicians playing their instruments, the bridegroom now marches to a spring to be washed clean of his henna —a ceremony called *l-ġsīl ḏel-ḥânna*. The *wazâra* are singing:

Qáddemnah bă qdâmna, yâ mlaḥ[1] *ṣálliu 'ăl ăn-nbi la yiṣbáḥ,*

We have made him our leader with our steps,
O good people pray for the sake of the Prophet till it becomes morning.

On their way they are attacked by the married men, the so-called *'árab*, "Arabs," who try to rob the *wazâra* of their flags and slippers and, if strong enough, even to make a prisoner of "the Sultan." If they succeed in catching him, the *wazâra* must promise to give a feast to the *'árab* in order to be allowed to proceed to the spring. But there again the *'árab* trouble the Sultan and his men, and a struggle ensues in which each party tries to throw the other into the spring. Should the Sultan be pushed into the water, it is believed

[1] Instead of *yâ mlaḥ*, I have heard, in the Garbiya, *wa 'lámna*, meaning "and our flag."

that a little of his *baraka* would be imparted to the spring and remain there for the future.

After he is washed, he and his men go back to the mosque accompanied by the *'árab*, who by this time have become quite peaceful. He enters the room of the *fqī* inside the mosque, together with those *wazâra* who are scribes, and sits down there; whilst the *'árab* outside are having an auction with the things they have captured, the *wazâra* now being obliged to buy them back with food brought there from the bridegroom's house. The Sultan's "vizier" brings some water, undresses his master, and wets the hair of his head, after which the *fqī* shaves it off while the musicians are playing outside the mosque. One of the *wazâra* goes to the bridegroom's mother to fetch the clothes which were sent for him as a present from his bride on the day of the *bḏū ḏel-'ărûṣa*, as also the *ḥâyĕk* returned to him on the same occasion.[1] The shaved-off hair is put inside his old clothes, and these are then taken to his mother, who envelops them in a kerchief and carries the bundle on her back "as if it were a baby." I was told that all such customs must be carefully observed, since otherwise Yiblis, the devil, would make husband and wife fight, being displeased with people getting married. It is easy to understand that the bridegroom's wearing of clothes presented to him by the bride and of the *ḥâyĕk* in question (of which more will be said in next chapter) may be supposed to promote domestic peace; but as for the bundle carried by his mother on

[1] See *infra*, p. 142 *sq*.

her back, we have good reason to believe that it is really meant to be a magical means of making the marriage fruitful. The fight between the Arabs and the Sultan and his *wazâra* no doubt emphasises the contrast between the married men and the bachelors, but it is probably, at the same time, a ceremony of purification, as is the case with the mock-fights on various other occasions. In this instance the purifying effect of the fight is of course increased by the circumstance that the parties try to throw each other into the spring.

Dressed in his new clothes, with a big turban and a silk cord round it on his head and covered with the *ḥâyḳ*, which he wears pulled down over his face, the bridegroom goes outside the wall which encloses the *ḥarm* of the mosque. There the vizier lifts him on to a saddled mule waiting for him. It is led by one of the *'drab* and surrounded and immediately followed by the *wazâra*, scribes, and shereefs, whilst the other people present walk behind, the musicians being the last. In front of the mule go the huntsmen, and on either side of it go three *wazâra* who are scribes, one waving a handkerchief to the bridegroom as is always done to the real Sultan when he is riding, and the others carrying flags. It is considered necessary that the persons who surround the bridegroom should be dressed in white clothes, as is generally the case with scribes. The procession moves slowly ; the huntsmen are discharging volleys of gunpowder, the musicians are playing, and the scribes and *wazâra* are singing :—

Yā Muḥammäd yā l-muḍállal bī l-ġamâma, ʿăléika salâmû llâh ; u yā zeinû l-ʿămâma ʿăléika salâmû llâh,

O Muḥammed O he who is shaded by the veil, on you be the peace of God ; and O beauty of the turban, on you be the peace of God.

This occasion is called *r-rkub ḍel-ʿărûṣ*, "the ride of the bridegroom," and the day in question *nhăr r-rkub ḍel-ʿărûṣ*. But as the bride is on the same day taken in an *ʿammaṛîya* to her new home, it is also called *nhăr l-ʿammaṛîya*.

If there is in the village a *rḍuḍa*, or cairn, dedicated to the great mountain saint Mûläi ʿAbdsslam, they bend their course thither ; if not, they go to some other saintly place. Each member of the procession pelts the *rḍuḍa* with stones in order to drive away or kill Yiblis, who may easily accompany them on their way. After this ceremony of purification the bridegroom turns his mule towards the East, and, making *fâtˢḥa* with his hands, whispers :—*Ana f ḥarm ălláh u n-nbi Muḥámmed*, "I am under the protection of God and the Prophet Muḥammed." He then faces Mûläi ʿAbdsslam's mountain, whispering :—*Ana f ḥarm ălláh u f ḥármăk a mûläi ʿAbdsslam, ărzáqni fî ṣ-ṣáḥḥa*, "I am under the protection of God and under your protection O Mûläi ʿAbdsslam, give me health." All this is said in an inaudible voice, since the bridegroom is not permitted to speak aloud. The congregation likewise make *fâtˢḥa*, the *fqī* taking the lead. They now proceed to the bridegroom's house, accompanied at a distance by a crowd of women making their quivering noise. On their arrival at the yard a carpet from the

bride's presents to the bridegroom is spread on the ground, the vizier lifts him from the mule and puts him down on the carpet, and there he sits reclining on a cushion (also given by the bride), surrounded by unmarried scribes from among his *wazâra* with flags in their hands. There is a continuous performance of music and powder-play lasting till about sunset, the procession having left the mosque at the time for the *'âṣar* prayer. *Kŭsksu* with meat is served to the congregation, especially good food being given to the *wazâra*, huntsmen, and musicians; but though the scribes who are sitting round the bridegroom partake of the meal, he himself abstains from eating. Three dishes of *kŭsksu* with meat are sent by the bridegroom's mother to the mosque to be eaten by the *fqī* and schoolboys, who retired there when the performance in the yard came to an end.

After the meal the other people also leave the yard with the exception of the bridegroom and *wazâra*, some of whom, standing in front of their master, fire a few shots in the air. The bridegroom's mother brings four large candles, which are taken by the young men holding the flags, lighted by the vizier, and placed on the ground. The Sultan and his *wazâra* now perform their sunset prayer, and later on their evening prayer as well, sitting together all the time between the prayers.

Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġäl the *iuzîrẹ̄n*, on the morning following "the great henna," shave the bridegroom's

head and trim his beard, if he has any, after which they all have their breakfast. About midday they go out together, the bridegroom with his face covered as usual and carrying a basket filled with bread and meat. In the yard his mother has placed a mug (*ḏâqḏeḥt*) upside down with a *ḏlḏli*[1] and an egg on the top of it, and the bridegroom now breaks both the mug and the egg with a kick, so as to destroy the evil. The *iuzîrẓn* fire off their guns, and the whole company, with the bridegroom in the centre, leave the yard. Outside it they are attacked by the married men and boys, who beat the *iuzîrẓn* with prickly-pear plants and try to rob the bridegroom of the basket. If they succeed, they eat its contents; whereas in the opposite case the bridegroom and *iuzîrẓn* go and have a meal together.

At Fez I have not heard of the custom of painting the bridegroom with henna, but the shaving of his head is, instead, attended with ceremonies and feasting. In the afternoon before the wedding-night, when the bride comes to her new home, or else on the previous evening, the bridegroom retires to the so-called *dār islān*, a house which has been rented or lent for this occasion. He is accompanied there by a great number of male friends, more or less of his own age, married or unmarried, who drink tea and eat with him, while a band of *alîyẓn* amuse the company with their music. The older men, on the other hand, assemble in the house where the bridegroom is living, now called *dār*

[1] See *supra*, p. 72.

l-'örs, "the house of the wedding," and are there entertained in a similar manner. After supper the family barber (*ḥájjąm*) brings there a large wooden chair with painted designs, and tells some men of the bridegroom's relatives to fetch him from *dar íslān*. He is then carried there by friends and accompanied by all the young men who were sitting with him. On his arrival at *dar l-'örs* he is put down on the chair. To the house have been brought, as presents from some friend, two large round brass trays with feet (*tiâfar*, sing. *ṭáifor*), on one of which there is a heap of candles, whilst on the other is standing a brass bowl (*ṭâsa*) containing rose-water, myrtle twigs, and two or three small lemons of the kind called *lîmûn d-daqq*. The mistress of the *ngâgef* (*l-m'állma den-ngâgef*) takes the bowl, which, like the heap of candles, has been kept under a conical cover (*mkeb*), and damps the bridegroom's hair with the wisp of myrtle twigs. The men now one after the other fix with spittle a large number of silver coins on his forehead and face, and even push coins between his lips; and for each person the barber's assistant, who acts as *bérrāḥ*, or crier, calls out, *Alláh m'a flān*, "May God be with so-and-so." The barber knocks off the coins into a towel so as to give room for the next donor's contributions, and receives as his fee all this money, which, if the bridegroom belongs to a wealthy family, may even amount to one or two hundred dollars. After the end of this ceremony, which is called *l-ġrâma 'al lă-'rîs f š-šúlya*, "the *ġrâma* on behalf of the bridegroom

on the chair," the barber shaves the bridegroom's head and trims his beard, if he has any. He is then in great haste carried away by his friends to *dâr islân* ; and now, about midnight, the bride is fetched from her home. All the time the *alîyẹn* have been playing.

Previous to this occasion, however, other less ceremonial preparations for the wedding have been going on in the bridegroom's house. A month or more after the *ṣdaq* has been paid, the young man sends a message to his *fiancée's* parents to inform them of the day when the wedding is to take place. The girl's mother then calls for the mistress of the *ngâgef* and orders her to hire a lot of mattresses and take them to the young man's house, as also to bring pearls to her daughter, telling her at the same time to keep herself disengaged on the day fixed for the wedding. A fortnight before that day there is the so-called *ṯánqil*, "transportation." The mistress of the *ngâgef*, together with her assistants, takes to the girl's house one or more trays (*ṭiâfar*) with a considerable quantity of agal-wood (*'ûd qmâri*) and various other kinds of incense (*qrâs*, *ṯabḫêra*, etc.), and a quilt (*lḥaf*). Over the latter is put a muslin cover belonging to the girl, after which it is rolled up and, together with the tray or trays, in the afternoon taken by the *ngâgef* to the young man's house. They make a quivering noise outside the door, which is opened to them, and on entering the house they put down the things they carry and are entertained with tea and food. There is a feast going on with *ṭabbâlaṯ* and female guests, and a

similar feast is held in the girl's house; both these feasts are called *t'ânqil*.

The next day the mistress of the *ngâgef* begins to send mattresses to the young man's house, and this is continued for the five following days. On the sixth day, which is called *nhar l-farš*, the *ngâgef* with their mistress come there to put in order the nuptial chamber. By a wall of mattresses one end of the room is made into a special compartment, called *dâḫšûša*, only large enough to hold a bed, whilst other mattresses are piled up along the back and side-wall of the outer and much larger part of the room, which is united with the *dâḫšûša* by an opening left between the mattresses and the front wall. The piles of mattresses are of a considerable height, though they do not reach the roof, and on the top of them are placed *tlâmaṭ* (sing. *t'almêṭa*), or gold-embroidered covers. The visible side of each mattress is draped with *sfâif*—materials of different colours—and the uncovered parts of the walls above the piles are decorated with *ḥâiṭi*, fancy stuff of European make. The floor is covered with carpets, and at the entrance of the room are hung two curtains, one of which is embroidered with gold. Many of these decorations, however, are not carried out on this occasion but two days before the wedding, on the day called *nhar z-zîna*; this is the case with the covering of the mattresses with *sfâif* and the walls with *ḥâiṭi*, the hanging of curtains at the entrance, and the laying of carpets on the floor. On *nhar l-farš* the muslin cover belonging to the girl is hung over the mattresses,

to be removed again on *nhār z-zîna*, when they are draped with *sfäif*; and the quilt, which was likewise brought from her home, is put underneath the mattresses along one of the walls and turned double so as to be made thicker. On *nhār z-zîna* a mattress is placed in the *däḫšûša* to serve as a bed for the young couple.

CHAPTER IV

CEREMONIES IN THE BRIDE'S HOME

MEANWHILE the bride also has to undergo certain ceremonies preparatory to the wedding.

At Fez she is purified both with water and henna. Five days before the wedding she goes in the afternoon to the hot bath, accompanied by some women of her family, one of whom carries a candlestick with a wax candle. When they enter the bath the candle is lighted, and the women make a quivering noise—obviously to ward off *jnūn*, who are generally supposed to be haunting the hot baths. The same ceremony is again repeated on the following two days. On the latter of these occasions, that is, three days before the wedding, seven buckets of lukewarm water are poured over the girl by seven women, "so that she shall have no quarrel with her husband," in accordance with the saying, *L-mā ámān u š-šarr mā kān*, "The water is safety and quarrel there is none."[1] This ceremony is called *t'aqbīb*, which means "pouring," and the day when it takes place is called *nhār t'aqbīb*.

[1] This saying is presumably a play on words, as the Berber word for water is *aman*, whilst the Arabic *amān* means "safety."

On her return from the hot bath the girl sits down behind a curtain, which has been hung up in the room where she is living. She is there surrounded by unmarried girls of her family or kin, who sit and talk and drink tea and sup with her. After supper a *mʿâllma l-ḥânnâya*, or woman whose profession is to paint other women with henna, makes on her hands and feet a design called *l-ḥânna bĕ t-tˢqwîṣa*, which is only made on brides. Round dots of henna are painted above the wrists and on the fingers, whilst the backs of the hands are partly, and the palms entirely, daubed with the same colouring matter ; and the feet are painted in a similar manner. It is considered a bad omen if the painted parts become very red when they are rubbed clean the next morning, although on other occasions when henna is applied a strong red colour is much desired.

The following day is called *qwâleb ṣĝār*. On this day the female relatives of the girl assemble in the house, where a great feast is held, *ṭabbâlatˢ* coming in the evening and playing till after sunrise, when they go away. The girl herself passes all this time behind the curtain in the company of her girl-friends, and is in the evening again painted with henna. The next day, which is called *qwâleb kbār*, some *ngâgef* come and dress the bride behind the curtain. When she is dressed she is led to the door of the room with her face covered, and lifted on to a low table. The *ngâgef* take the table on their shoulders with the bride seated on it, and dance about with their load in the middle of the house, singing :

Hä hîya yä lålla, hä hîya fi dárna,
Here she is O lady, here she is in our house.

This ceremony, which is called *d-dôra*, takes place in the evening, and as long as it lasts the *ṭabbâlat*ˢ are playing, and the other women are making a quivering noise. After a while the table is put down, and the girl retires to her room to have a short rest. She is then again led to the door of her room by the *ngâgef*, who there uncover her face, take hol of her shoulders, and move them gently to and fro, singing :

Hā hā hiyâ, a tˢbark ălláh ʿălik yą lålla, a l-ḥjūb ʿălik ya qmar lă-ʿráis, hā t-tˢmar l-mĕjhûl, hā lă-ʿsel bĕ librâ, hă z-zīn m-messûs, hā z-zīn dî näs flān,

Here, here she is, oh may *tˢbark ălláh* be on you O lady, oh may the charms be on you O moon of the brides, here are the unheard of dates (an epithet ordinarily given by the people of Fez to the excellent dates of Tafilelt), here is honey bought for an [English] sovereign, here is beauty without salt (that is, the girl who has not yet had her face painted with cosmetics), here is the beauty of the so-and-so family (the name of the girl's family).

The phrase *tˢbark ălláh*, "may God be blessed," is a common charm against the evil eye,[1] and is also used as such on this occasion. When this singing is finished the girl, who has all the time kept her eyes closed "out of shame," has her face covered again. The *ngâgef* sing :

Hā hîya märhôna,
Here is she who is pawned.

The girl's mother puts a small sum of money into a bowl which one of the *ngâgef* holds in her hand, lifts up

[1] See Westermarck, 'The Magic Origin of Moorish Designs,' in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiv. (1904), p. 211.

the *izār*[1] which covers her daughter's face, and kisses her on both cheeks ; she then drinks a little milk from a vessel held by another *nggâfa* and takes a date from a bowl held by a third. All the other women present do the same one after the other. This is the so-called *slām*, "salutation." The money is meant as payment for the *ngâgef*; the object of the milk is, as before,[2] to make the bride's life "white" ; and the dates represent wealth. The whole of this ceremony is called *ṯ'a'ššêq*, and it is considered obligatory on the women of related families to take part in it, since their presence is supposed to bring good luck to the bride. After the *ṯ'a'ššêq* is over the bride retires to her room with her girl-friends to have a short rest, the *ṭabbâlaṯ* continuing to play and sing throughout the night and the guests remaining awake.

About daybreak the *ngâgef* place in the middle of the house a *mûnbar*, or platform ascended by three steps, which has been brought from Sîdi Fraj the day before. The bride mounts it and sits down, whilst a *nggâfa* is standing on each step and the others on the ground close to the *mûnbar*. The *ḥṭâṭar*, or female guests, now give presents, mostly consisting of clothing, to the bride. The present is handed to the *nggâfa* on the lowest step, who passes it to the one standing on the third, while the *nggâfa* between them has her hands occupied by holding two wax candles (*mšâ'al*, sing.

[1] An *izār* is a rectangular, seamless piece of material worn by women. On this garment see Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* (Amsterdam, 1845), p. 24 *sqq.* ; Doutté, *Merrâkech* (Paris, 1905), p. 250 *sq.*

[2] *Supra*, pp. 25, 27 *sq.*

mâs'âl). When the third *nggâfa* receives the gifts she cries out the names of the donors and calls down blessings on them, especially asking God to reward their children on similar occasions. Presents are given not only by the women, including the bride's mother, but also by male relatives and by friends of her father, who send their gifts by female proxies. While the presents are being given the women make a quivering noise. This ceremony is called *l-mûnbar*, and the giving of presents is called *l-ġrâma fî l-mûnbar*. The clothes are enveloped in an *izâr* by the *ngâgef* and handed over to the bride's mother. After the *mûnbar* has come to an end the *ṭabbâlat'* go away, but the *ḥṭâṭar* remain. From her elevated place the bride retires to her room and spends the remainder of the day in the company of her girl-friends till about midnight, when she goes to the bridegroom's house. This day is called *bît' r-râḥa*, "the room of rest," but it is also called *nhâr l-'örs*, because the wedding proper is then celebrated in the bridegroom's house.

In the afternoon all the women, including the bride, go upstairs leaving the ground-floor for the men. The male relatives of the bride's parents and other male friends of the father come there as invited guests; they are entertained with music of *alîyen*, tea, and nice food, and remain sitting there till the bridegroom's party come to fetch the bride.

At Tangier the bride is, in the evening of the fourth day before she leaves her old home, taken to the hot

bath by female friends, both girls and married women. This evening is called *l-lîla del-ḥâmmaṃ*, "the evening of the hot bath."

In the evening of the next day, which is *nhar d-dbêḥa*,[1] the girl is carried by a black woman (*ḥâdĕm*), called the *nggâfa*, to the room in the house where she is now going to be painted with henna. The *nggâfa* holds up a little table on which there is a bowl with henna covered with a kerchief. A *fqîra*, or female musician, mixes the henna with water, and while stirring sings a song, accompanied by her six assistants on their instruments. The henna-mixture is then applied to the girl's hands and feet by a married woman who must have been married to a bachelor and not been married more than once.[2] This evening is called *l-lîla ṣ-ṣĝêra*,

[1] See *supra*, p. 78.

[2] The Shareefa of Wazan (*My Life Story* [London, 1911], p. 126 *sq.*) gives the following description of the painting of a bride with henna at Tangier :—"The leaves are dried and ground to a very fine powder, then sifted, and next put into a large basin. Hot water is stirred in until it becomes the consistency of a batter. For the feet, sandals are simulated by first arranging calico straps on the foot and round the base of the big toe. The henna paste is applied with care so as not to mar the symmetry of the straps ; once the foot is well covered with paste, white cloths are wrapped round, and over that thick woollen ones. These coverings are not removed for some hours, when the paste generally comes off with the coverings. The rolled calico is removed, and a red-brown sandalled foot is presented. Sometimes the simulated shape received a decoration by a lace-work pattern being painted on the lines in 'Harkos,' a kind of Indian ink, which lasts for a long time. This is applied with a pointed cane pen. The process is long, as I can personally testify ; nevertheless it is most effective when well done. The hands to be henna-stained are treated in several ways, according to individual fancy. You may rub them well in the paste and dry them over the fire, or they may be carefully anointed, special care being taken to have no cracks. The nails receive an extra dose of paste, and are then wrapped in cloths. Sometimes a professional stainer will be summoned, and patterns will be designed with henna paste, which must be dried over a charcoal fire. This takes a very long time, and one can but admire the effect produced afterwards, especially when the design is interwoven with the delicate tracing of 'El Harkos.'"

"the little evening." The next day is *l-lîla l-kbîra*, "the great evening," when the painting of the bride with henna is repeated at the feast which is then given in her house with a large number of invited guests. Nowadays the henna-ceremony is mostly omitted on the former occasion, *l-lîla ṣ-ṣġêra*, though there is still a small feast attended by relatives and intimate friends.

The day after *l-lîla l-kbîra* is called *ᵈ-ᵈjwâri*, "the neighbours." On this day there is giving of money (*ġrâma*) for the benefit of the *fqîra*, the bride's mother being the first donor, and the other women following her example. There is no general feasting on this occasion, but food is given to the *fqîra* and her assistants, and tea and buns (*fqâqaṣ*) to all young married women present who have not yet been to a wedding since their own. They have come there dressed in their bridal costumes and are called *l-ʿărâis*, "the brides."

Among the country people certain ceremonies likewise take place in the bride's home before the wedding proper. In Andjra these ceremonies commence with the occasion called *l-bḏū u l-ʿăqid ḏel-ḥâyḕk ḏel-ʿărûṣa*, "the bride's beginning and tying of the *ḥâyḕk*," three days before she is fetched by the bridegroom's people. Her girl-friends, the so-called *wazâra* or *wůzra*, make a canopy of blankets in the yard. Underneath it is placed a mattress on which the bride seats herself, with covered face and dressed in the new *ḥâyḕk* which she has this same day received from her betrothed. The *wazâra* sit down round her, and a married woman who

is her husband's first and only wife, much beloved by him and blessed with children, plaits the fringe of the *ḥâyĕk*. A *fqîra* and her assistants are singing and playing on tambourines (the *bĕndîr* and *dĕrbûga*), and the *wazâra* join in the singing, while the bride is weeping. When this has been going on for a couple of hours, a meal is served to the *wazâra*. The *ḥâyĕk* is the same day sent back to the young man, together with a big white turban, a silk cord (*mĕšmār*) to tie round it, two shirts, a *qáfṭān*,[1] and a pair of trousers as presents from his *fiancée*. As we have seen, he subsequently wears this *ḥâyĕk* on the occasion when he proceeds to his house before he has the first intercourse with the bride. I was told that the ceremony of tying the fringe of the *ḥâyĕk* is intended to make the bride as fortunate as the married woman by whom it is performed—a mother of children and dear to her husband; and this well agrees with what I take to be the object of the act of tying itself, namely, to strengthen the marriage tie.[2] After the wedding the husband gives the *ḥâyĕk* as a present to his wife, who keeps it in her box, though she may use it at any time she likes. The suggestion was made that by keeping the *ḥâyĕk* the *baraka* of the wedding is preserved in the house.

In the evening there is a feast in the girl's house, with only women as guests. Sitting on her bed, the

[1] A *qáfṭān* is a garment of coloured material which is worn by men and women over the shirt or chemise; it has wide sleeves and is buttoned all down the front. On this garment see Meakin, *An Introduction to the Arabic of Morocco* (London, 1891), p. 51; *Idem*, *The Moors* (London, 1902), p. 61 *sq.*; Lerchundi, *Vocabulario español-arábigo del dialecto de Marruecos* (Tánger, 1892), p. 158.

[2] *Cf. infra*, p. 260 *sq.*

bride weeps and wails, mentioning by name every member of her family whom she is now going to leave. Then the *wazâra* dance. The bride's mother brings a bowl of henna and four candles in it, as also a water-bottle. One of the *wazâra* takes the bowl and mixes the henna with water, whilst four others take hold of the candles, which they light. The bride is lifted from her bed and has henna smeared on her hands and feet, the *wazâra* standing round her. After this is done she is again carried to her bed, and the *wazâra* resume the dancing. They must remain awake all night long lest the married women should get an opportunity to steal anything from the bride. This occasion is called *l-lîla ṣ-ṣġêra ḏel-ʿărûṣa*, "the bride's little night."

After a short sleep in the morning the *wazâra* have their breakfast and the bride also, but custom requires that she should eat only a little—just an egg and a piece of bread. She is then washed with warm water and dressed in fine clothes and weeps, as she did the day before. The *wazâra* sing and dance till the afternoon when *l-ġda*, or lunch, is served out of food brought from other households. It is the custom that on this day women from all the houses in which there is an unmarried girl bring to the bride a dish of *kŭsksu* with meat or milk, hence the day is called *lă-ġdîya ḏel-ʿărûṣa*. A portion of the food is sent to the *fqī* and scribes in the mosque, whilst another portion, a particularly nice dish, is taken to the bridegroom, if he lives in the neighbourhood; otherwise only bread is sent to him. This is regarded as

'ahd, or an act of covenanting, between bride and bridegroom.[1] He has meanwhile ordered *ṭabbâla* and *ġaiyâḍa* to go to his betrothed's house to play there at night. While they are playing the bride is weeping in her room, and so are her *wazâra*, who are sitting with her.

After supper the bride and the *wazâra* go together on a tour from house to house, accompanied by the young men of the village, who at short intervals fire off their guns; and wherever they go they are received with milk and food as "hospitality" (*t'âḍvef*) given to the bride. When they come back she is carried by her *wazâra* through the door of her house and placed on her bed. After this the *wazâra* leave her alone, and have a dance outside the house, one of them balancing on her head a bowl containing henna, a raw egg, and four burning candles. The bowl is then passed on to the head of another girl, and so forth; and anybody who should allow it to fall down and break would be obliged to entertain the other *wazâra* with a feast—at the expense, however, of the bride—since it is believed that otherwise that girl would never marry. The raw egg is eventually eaten by one of the girls who wants to get a husband soon. When the dance is over the *wazâra* enter the room where the bride is lying, and she is now a second time painted with henna, with ceremonies similar to those of the evening before, but

[1] The Moorish *'ahd* derives its binding force from the idea that the covenanting parties transfer conditional curses to one another by a material medium, such as, *e.g.*, food (Westermarck, '*L-âr*, or the Transference of Conditional Curses in Morocco,' in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor* [Oxford, 1907], p. 373 *sq.*). See *infra*, p. 259.

with more feasting. This occasion is called *l-lîla l-kbîra ḏel-ʿărûṣa*, "the bride's great night."

The next morning the bride is washed and dressed in a new costume, and the musicians give her a morning serenade (*keiṣábbḥu ʿălă l-ʿărûṣa*). On this day the bullock is sent by the bridegroom, as said before. The married women, both of the bride's own village and of neighbouring villages, assemble in her house. They give *ġrâma* to her mother, who afterwards gives the money to her daughter, and to the *fqîra* as well, and are entertained with meat of the bullock. This day, on which the festivities in the bride's house come to an end, is called *nhār d-djwâri ḏel-ʿărûṣa*, "the bride's day of the neighbours."

Among the Tsūl the bride is painted with henna on the evening before the day when she is taken from her old home. A young woman applies the paint to her hands and feet on both sides, while her sisters and cousins tie with silk cords two one-*bîlyūn* pieces round the little and third fingers of her hands, and other women put in her lap some coins, which she afterwards gives to her mother. During this ceremony she has no belt round her, and she remains without it for a week.[1] The painting is followed by a meal of *sěksu* and mutton, the women eating with the bride in her room and the men in another room or in the yard. The sheep which her father killed for this occasion was previously ridden by the bride, who gave it seven boxes on its ears, while her

[1] See *infra*, p. 293.

mother removed its right eye with a big needle. The dried eye is afterwards made into powder and, mixed with various spices, put into the food which the mother gives to the bridegroom's family to eat, so that they shall look upon her daughter with affectionate eyes. Before the bride leaves her old home her mother also makes little cuts with a knife between her eyes, on the tips of her nose and tongue, at her right shoulder-joint and all other joints of the right side of her body, and at her *vulva*. The blood from these cuts is wiped away with cotton-wool, which the bride takes with her to her new home and puts into water together with a few dates, after she has had her first intercourse with her spouse; and when he comes to her the following night she gives him the dates to eat in order to make him a loving husband.

In the Ḥiáina, on the evening before the bride is taken away, she is the chief figure in a ceremony which is very similar to that taking place the same evening at the bridegroom's house, with the difference, however, that she is publicly smeared with henna, not with flour. This ceremony is also called *r-rbēṭ*; it is the *rbēṭ* of the bride. The henna is mixed with salt, and she has her hands and feet painted with it on both sides by her mother or some other elderly woman of her family. The backs of her slippers (*räḥîya*) have been pulled up, round the wrist of her right hand has been tied a perforated silver coin sent by the bridegroom to serve as a protection against *jnūn*, and over her face she has a silk

kerchief; her eyes must be covered, because it is believed that misfortune would befall any person or animal the bride looked at before she has seen her husband on her arrival at his house. At her right side stands her *uzîra*, and behind her a woman making a quivering noise; but no swords are crossed over her head. There is playing and singing and the giving of *ġrâma*. The bridegroom also sends her some money, or, if he lives in the neighbourhood, comes there himself with the *islan* after his own *rbēṭ*, and puts coins on the tray, in the bowl of henna, between the lips of the bride, and on her head, the last being a present for the woman behind. When the painting of the bride has come to an end, the women sing the same song as is sung on the corresponding occasion at the bridegroom's *rbēṭ*, and the bride is carried away by the *uzîra* and other girls.

Among the Brâber of the Ait Waráin, on the evening when "the great henna" takes place at the bridegroom's house the bride is painted in her home, where a feast is likewise held, though on a smaller scale. She is dressed in her bridal costume, consisting of new clothes; she has no belt (*astau*), the backs of her slippers (*tiherkûsin*) are pulled up, her hair is dishevelled, and on her head she has a so-called *lqobbt*, that is, a bent cane to which is attached a red[1] silk kerchief hanging down in front of her face and a green one behind. Thus dressed she has the palms and backs of her hands

[1] On the use of red in wedding ceremonies see Zachariae, 'Zum altindischen Hochzeitsritual,' in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, xvii. (1903), p. 230 *sqq*.

painted with henna by her mother or maternal aunt, in the presence of women and children only, and all the time she is weeping. Some of the women put silver coins on the tray close to her, though the sums are smaller than those given at the bridegroom's feast ; and on this occasion, also, the henna bowl is broken when the painting is over. The guests, among whom there are men from the village, although these are not allowed to see the ceremony itself, are only entertained with gruel (*tâḥrirt*) made with salt butter.

Among the Aiṭ Nḍēr, on the other hand, the bride is painted with henna in the presence of both men and women, sitting on her bed inside the tent. There is the usual money-giving, swords are crossed over her head, and when the painting is finished there is the same dancing with the bowl as at the bridegroom's feast. Like the latter, the bride in many cases has a bath before the henna-ceremony, though this is not obligatory; and she has the backs of her slippers pulled up. If she has her home far away from the bridegroom's village, she is only painted with henna at the same time as he on her arrival there.

Among the Aiṭ Yúsi a feast called *ṭag^{w}rurṭ* is held in the bride's home on the evening when the bridegroom's party have come to fetch her. About midnight henna is slowly pounded by a sister of the bridegroom or bride, or some other female relative, while songs are sung by all the people present. The woman

who pounds the henna must be a married woman, but one who has been married only once, as it is believed that if she had been divorced by a former husband the same thing would also happen to the bride. She mixes the pounded henna with water and paints with the mixture the bride's legs below the knee and her feet on both sides. The new slippers (*rrêḥiṯ*) sent by the bridegroom are then put on her feet; but before this is done some salt, a needle, a silver coin, and a date or raisin are placed in the right slipper—the salt and needle presumably to protect her against *jnūn*,[1] the silver in order that she shall be "white" like silver, and the date or raisin that she shall become "sweet" or dear to her husband's family. For this purpose she puts the date or raisin, as also the salt, into the food eaten by them for supper a week afterwards, when she for the first time removes her slippers from her feet. Until then she wears them with the backs pulled up, so as to prevent them from falling off; it is believed that anybody who should get hold of earth trodden upon by the naked foot of a bride might work magic with it, whereas there is no such danger in footprints made by her slippers.[2] When she removes them she also carefully shakes out the henna-powder and throws it into water, in order that it shall not be used for magical purposes against her.

[1] The old Aiṯ Yúsi woman who told me of this pretended at first that she did not know the object of the salt and needle, but subsequently, when I again asked her about it, said that they were put there as charms against the evil eye. I have little doubt that she gave these answers because she was afraid of mentioning the *jnūn*.

[2] On the "sympathetic power" of footprints see Sartori, 'Der Schuh im Volksglauben,' in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, iv. (1894), p. 41.

After henna has been smeared on the bride's feet the same is done to her hands, arms, hair, and face. An egg enveloped in a kerchief (*aḫĕnbuš*) is tied round her forehead; it is then broken by the woman who painted her, and is left there till the next morning when the bride is washed. This is done in order that her hymen shall be broken by her husband as easily as was the egg.[1] After the woman has painted the bride she sprinkles henna on some bachelors or married young men, even as many as five or six, who are thereby appointed to be the bride's *imsnein*; these young men are chosen with regard paid to their wealth, since they are expected to give money to the bride when the wedding is over.

Next morning the woman who painted the bride washes her with water containing some henna, while she is seated on a weaving-stool (*ifĭggăgʸen*) and a pack-saddle (*ṯabărḏa*). By riding the latter the bride is believed to gain power over her husband, as a person rules over the donkey or mule he is riding, whilst the washing on the weaving-stool is intended to remove the *ăṭqqăf* (the Arabic *tˢqāf*) which was imposed on her in her early childhood. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi it is the custom for every little girl to be taken on one occasion three times underneath the two upper cross-bars

[1] *Cf. Customs and Manners of the Women of Persia*, trans. by James Atkinson (London, 1832), p. 71:—"Dadeh Bazm Ará says, the bride should take a hen's egg in her hand, and on getting up throw it against the wall to break it, keeping her face towards the Kibleh, or in the direction of Mecca. Kulsúm Naneh thinks that a useless proceeding, and recommends a needle to be presented to her on her marriage." Addison (*The Present State of the Jews* [London, 1676], p. 52) says that among the Jews of Morocco the bridegroom on the marriage-day "takes a raw Egg, which he casts at the Bride; intimating thereby his desire that she may have both an easie and joyful Child-birth."

(*ṭiġḏwīn*, sing. *ṭáġŭḏa*) of a weaving-stool after the web is ready, in order that no man shall be able to destroy her virginity, and the magical effect of this ceremony must naturally be cancelled before her wedding. After the bride has been washed she is dressed in the clothes sent to her by the bridegroom. The *lízār* (the Arabic *izār*) is not put on her in the ordinary way, but thrown over her left shoulder as if she were a man, whilst over her right shoulder is slung a dagger (*asariy*) hanging down on her left side. This dagger, which belongs to some unmarried young man, and is said to serve as a protection against magic,[1] and also the *lízār* and the *ṭamĕnṣŭrīṭ*[2] underneath, remain on her till the occasion when she is girdled. Her hair is covered with the *aḫĕnbuš*, over which is put the *ṭášĕbnīṭ* falling in front of her face as a veil. On the top of these kerchiefs is drawn the *lízār*, which is tied round the crown of her head with the *lḥăzám* (belt) and on which is painted with *zz'afran* (saffron) a broad circle called *áyyur*, "moon." Over the *lízār* is put a *ṭaḥĕddunṭ*, or mantle, presented to her by her parents, who also give her a carpet (*ṭarrḥalṭ*) and an *aḫrŭḏ* (in Arabic *mézwud*). She is then ready to be taken away by the bridegroom's party.

Among the Aiṭ Sáddĕn, some days before the wedding, the young man sends to his bride a small sum of money, called *ṭášḏat*. She puts this money under-

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 150 n. 1.

[2] A *ṭamĕnsŭrīṭ* (the Arabic *manṣūrîya*) is a kind of chemise with sleeves, which opens in front down to the waist. On this garment see Meakin, *The Moors*, p. 61; Doutté, *op. cit.* p. 313.

neath the handmill when she performs the ceremony called *tzüḍ ḍḥrir*, "the flour of the *ḍḥrir*," consisting in her grinding some wheat with the handmill placed so that the flour falls over her uncovered right thigh. The grinding is subsequently continued by other women, and out of the flour is made *ḍḥrir*, a kind of gruel prepared with salt butter, on the day before the bride leaves her old home. It is made with water brought early in the morning from a spring or well by seven girls who have gone there each with her *aiddiḍ*, or goatskin bottle, in company with the bride. The latter fills all the bottles with water, after which she undresses herself and gets into the spring, or, if the bottom is too muddy, sits down on its edge; and the seven girls pour water over her and wash her body, hoping that by so doing they will get married themselves.

On the evening of the same day after sunset the bride's hands, feet, and head are smeared with henna, her lips are painted with walnut bark or root (*lmswāḥ*), her eyes with antimony (*ṭḍzûlṭ*), her cheeks with ochre (*l'ākk'ar*), and on her face is made a design with saffron (*zz'afrān*), consisting of two lines, resembling whiskers, which are extended over the eyebrows and joined with a third line drawn along the ridge of the nose. The painting with saffron, which is called *izrîrąu*, is, like the other kinds of painting just mentioned, applied not only to the bride but to other women as well, married and unmarried, who take part in the wedding.

Next day the bride is dressed in the clothes brought

by the bridegroom's party, who have now come to fetch her, though they have been previously bought by her own parents with the *ṣṣḍaq* paid for her. The bridegroom's mother and sisters take in the clothes and dress the bride in them, and when this has been done the mother sings :

Âffăġ barrâ ttâruṭ iḫniun, âffăġ barrâ ttâruṭ iḫniun ; ăgḍŭ fărḍî reḫ aḍîttâruṭ, ăgḍŭ fărḍî reḫ aḍîttâruṭ,

Go out may you give birth to male twins, go out may you give birth to male twins ; even one [son] I wish you to give birth to, even one [son] I wish you to give birth to.

Before the bride leaves the room she has a broad line painted with saffron on the *lîzâr* round the top of her head. The reason for this was not stated, but considering that charms for persons who are troubled with *insélmĕn* (*jnūn*) are frequently written with saffron, it seems probable that the custom in question was originally intended to protect the bride against these spirits. So much importance is attached to it that it is practised even in the case of a widow bride, although she is not painted with henna. While the bride is being dressed the men are entertained with *aḫrir* (a kind of porridge), no *ṭṭăʿâm* (*sĕksu*) being served on this occasion.

Dressed in her bridal attire she goes out of the room and sits down on a mat to be painted with henna. Her mother or sister slips a silver leg-ring (*ṭisŏġnĕsṭ*) round the top of her *lîzâr*, and from a bowl in which has been put a silver bangle her sister slowly smears some henna on the palm of her right hand, while the other women are singing antiphonally :

Go out may you give birth to male twins, go out may you give birth to male twins,

and,

Even one [son] I wish you to give birth to, even one [son] I wish you to give birth to.

They are also making their usual quivering noise. The men give *lăġramṭ* (the Arabic *ġrâma*), and the women are meanwhile partaking of a meal of *aḥrir*. When the money sent by the bridegroom with the *imsnėin* is presented as the first gift, the two *iberrâḥăn*, who are crossing their swords over the bride's head, cry out, *Ăllâh mʿa mûlâi sslṭan*, "God be with my lord the Sultan." Two men of the bride's family are watching the amount contributed by each donor, all the money given on this occasion becoming her property.

Among the Aṭ Ubáḥṭi the bride is painted with henna on the evening before the wedding. This act, which is performed by a woman of her family, must not be witnessed by men, nor is any giving of money connected with it; but a substantial supper is served to the assembled people. Before the henna-ceremony the bride, like the bridegroom, has a bath.

Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġäl it is the custom not only for the bridegroom but also for the bride to make a tour every day for a whole week before the wedding. Accompanied by the unmarried girls of the village, the so-called *ḏiuzîrin*, she pays visits to her relatives in her own and neighbouring villages, but the nights they all pass together in her house. Every evening the bride

has her hands and feet painted with henna by a girl of her family, a niece or cousin, who is a first-born child and has not yet had any brothers or sisters, whose parents are alive, and whose name is Fāṭîma; and at the same time the *ḏiuzîrin* likewise daub their hands and feet with henna. Like the bridegroom's party the bride and her friends are entertained with food in every house they visit, and are obliged to eat a little of everything offered them. Should the two parties happen to meet in the same house, they do not mix together but sit in different rooms. The bride, also, must all this time affect great bashfulness; she has her head covered with a *ḥâyḛ̈k*, and the backs of her slippers are pulled up. The last evening there is a feast in her father's house with relatives and villagers as guests—an occasion which, like the feast simultaneously given in the bridegroom's house, is called *rḥånni amáqqăran*. On this day the bride washes herself thoroughly with hot water.

Among the Shlöḥ of Aglu the bride stays in her room for two days before she is taken to her new home, doing nothing but eating and talking with her girl-friends. Previous to her departure she is painted with henna by her *luzîra*, a black woman who, like the *nggâfa* at Tangier, throughout the wedding acts as her attendant. The palms of her hands are smeared all over with it, designs are painted on their backs, and a line is drawn round the sides of her feet and over the toes. She is also dressed in her bridal costume, which

includes the *lizăr* brought by the bridegroom's people ; and while she is being dressed, custom requires that she should weep.

Among the Ait Táměldu it is the custom that, after the henna has been brought by the *inḍălabĕn* to the girl's father, she stains her hands and feet with it over and over again, and her example is followed by her girl-friends. Subsequently, on the evening of the third day after she has moved to the bridegroom's house, she again paints herself with it, and so do all the other women present. This evening is called *üḍ nĕ-lḥănna.*

Among the Igliwa the bride is confined in her house for three days before she leaves her home. During this time she has her hands and feet painted with henna on both sides every morning and evening, and a little of it is smeared on her arms.

At Amzmüz I was told that the bride's brother puts her slippers on her feet after he has placed a silver coin in the right one, and then taps her three times with his own slipper ; but her girl-friends beat him in return so that he runs away. Here also the bride is crying aloud while she is being dressed.

Among the Arabs of the Ulâd Bu-'Ăzîz the ceremonies of the evening before the bride's departure differ from those hitherto mentioned in so far that the bridegroom then has intercourse with her. A feast called *l-bâṭṭa* is given by her parents with the people of the village as guests. Before the slaughter of the ram which is to provide meat for the supper, the bride

mounts it and boxes its ears in order that she shall rule over her husband, the latter being represented by the ram. After dismounting, she plucks out from it some eyelashes, so that her husband shall not get angry with her, and she hangs on it a necklace of glass beads (*mdéjja*) with a view to making her husband weak and harmless like a woman. Before the ram is killed the necklace is removed by the slaughterer—the bride's brother or some other man,—who hangs it round his own neck, returning it to the girl after he has cut the animal's throat. Its stomach is taken out and placed in a wooden dish (*gâṣ'a*), and the bride puts her right foot on it, again for the purpose of making herself the ruler of the home. Lastly she takes the animal's heart and eats the whole of it the same evening, in order that the husband shall have a loving heart. The slaughter of the ram takes place in the afternoon.

Later on the same day the bride has the palms of her hands and the tops of her feet painted with henna by her maiden friends; she puts on a clean chemise (*qmûjja*) and goes, accompanied by her friends, into a tent or straw-hut (*nwâla*) prepared for this occasion. There she finds the bridegroom sitting alone; he had previously entered with one or more bachelor friends, but the latter went away after the supper of *sěksu* and meat was offered them. The bridegroom gives some dates, walnuts, and almonds to the bride to make her friendly, and also to the other girls, after which the couple are left alone. They now have sexual intercourse. Before the connection the bridegroom gently

smacks the bride, "in order that she shall always be afraid of him"; and after it the more beautiful of the two performs the usual ablution before the other, since it is believed that the children will resemble the parent who on this occasion washes first. If there is blood on the chemise of the bride, the bridegroom makes her a present of some dollars, called *ḥällân l-ḥăzậm*, "the loosening of the belt," whereas in the opposite case he flogs and abuses her by calling her a *hăjjâla*, "widow" or "divorced wife." The absence of blood may indeed lead to an annulment of the marriage contract, a restoration of the presents given by the bridegroom, and an additional flogging of the bride by her parents; but it may also happen that the bridegroom after the thrashing forgives her for her lost virtue and marries her all the same. If the bride is found to be a virgin, the bridegroom pulls up the backs of his slippers and wears them in that fashion for seven days, whilst the bride wears her slippers with pulled-up backs only till she has arrived at her new home. The blood-stained garment is taken round the village by the women, and is also exhibited in the bridegroom's village if near. All the people come and look at it and rub their eyes with the red stains; for this blood, which is called *ṣ-ṣbaḥ*, "the morning," is supposed to contain *baraka* and be wholesome for the eyes. The people bless the bride, saying:—*Flậna llah yŏrḍi a'lệha, jâbĕt ṣ-ṣbaḥ mĕziận*, "May God be gracious to so-and-so, she has brought a nice morning." But whether the bride was found a virgin or not, the bridegroom does not remain

long with her in the tent or straw-hut, but goes home for the night.

The custom of painting the bride with henna is extremely prevalent in the Muhammedan world, even more so than the application of henna to the bridegroom ;[1] and there can be no doubt that it is universal in Morocco. Its real object is to purify her and protect her from evil influences ; for the bride, who like the bridegroom is regarded as holy, is likewise held to be very susceptible to harmful supernatural influences, either magical forces or evil spirits. There is a *jĕnn* called *ḥăṭṭaf lă-'ráis*, whose speciality is to steal brides.[2]

As we have seen, the henna is applied not only to the bride's hands and feet, but sometimes also to her legs below the knees, her arms, face, and hair. The painting is performed either by her maiden friends or

[1] Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Les Cérémonies du mariage chez les indigènes de l'Algérie* (Paris, 1901), pp. 17, 26 ; Robert, *Voyage à travers l'Algérie* (Paris, *s.a.*), p. 226 ; de Calassanti-Motylinski, *Le Djebel Nefousa* (Paris, 1899), p. 112 ; Biarnay, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère de Ouargla* (Paris, 1908), p. 458. Mrs. Todd, *Tripoli the Mysterious* (London, 1912), p. 97. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (London, 1896), p. 178 *sq.* ; *Idem*, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages* (London, 1883), p. 234 (Cairo) ; Klunzinger, *Upper Egypt* (London, 1878), p. 198. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. (Haag, 1889), p. 165. D'Arvieux, *Travels in Arabia the Desart* (London, 1718), p. 231. Wortabet, *Syria and the Syrians*, i. (London, 1856), p. 286. Klein, 'Mittheilungen über Leben, Sitten und Gebräuche der Fellachen in Palästina,' in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vi. (1883), p. 95 ; Van-Lennep, *Bible Lands* (London, 1875), p. 547 (Palestine). Löbel, *Hochzeitsbräuche in der Türkei* (Amsterdam, 1897), p. 46 (Baghdad). Meer Hassan Ali, *Observations on the Mussulmauns of India*, i. (London, 1832), p. 384. Skeat, *Malay Magic* (London, 1900), p. 375 *sqq.* Tremearne, *Hausa Superstitions and Customs* (London, 1913), pp. 85, 87 *sq.* Among the Hausas "the henna is doubtless a Mohammedan introduction ; formerly it would seem that oil or grease was used instead."

[2] For a similar belief in Algeria, see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.* p. 49 ; *Idem*, in *Revue des traditions populaires*, xxii. (1907), p. 54.

by one or the other of the following persons: her mother, aunt, or sister, a first-born girl of her family bearing the name of the Prophet's daughter Fāṭima, the bridegroom's married sister, a married woman who must have been married to a bachelor and not been married more than once, or a female professional. The bride is painted privately or publicly, sometimes on two festive occasions, but in most tribes in the presence of women and children only. Henna is, moreover, used by her girl-friends[1] and even the married women present, and they may also, like the bride herself,[2] be painted with other purifying or protective stuffs, such as antimony, walnut bark, and saffron.

The bride is further purified by bathing or water-pouring,[3] to which much importance is attached by

[1] *Cf.* Biarnay, *op. cit.* p. 458 (Ouargla); Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 179.

[2] *Cf.* Lane, *Arabian Society*, p. 234 (Cairo); D'Arvieux, *op. cit.* p. 231; Wortabet, *op. cit.* i. 286 (Syria); Klein, *loc. cit.* p. 95 (Palestine); Meer Hassan Ali, *op. cit.* i. 384 (Muhammedans of India); Skeat, *op. cit.* p. 375 *sqq.* (Muhammedans of the Malay Peninsula). Arabic writers say that the bride should brighten her face, put on the best of her apparel, adorn her eyes with antimony, and stain her hands and feet with henna (Lane, *Arabian Society*, p. 234 *sq.*).

[3] *Cf.* Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.* p. 44, Villot, *Mœurs, coutumes et institutions des indigènes de l'Algérie* (Alger, 1888), p. 107, and Robert, *op. cit.* p. 226 (Algeria); Menouillard, 'Un Mariage dans le Sud Tunisien (Matmata),' in *Revue Tunisienne*, ix. (1902), p. 372; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 177 *sq.*, *Idem*, *Arabian Society*, p. 233 *sq.*, and Klunzinger, *op. cit.* p. 197 (Egypt); D'Arvieux, *op. cit.* p. 231; Guys, *Un Dervich algérien en Syrie* (Paris, 1854), p. 200, and Wortabet, *op. cit.* i. 286 (Syria); Klein, *loc. cit.* p. 95, and Van-Lennep, *op. cit.* p. 547 (Palestine); Löbel, *op. cit.* p. 24 *sq.* (Muhammedans of Turkey); Jaffur Shurreef, *Qanoon-e-islam* (Madras, 1863), p. 89, and Meer Hassan Ali, *op. cit.* i. 384 (Muhammedans of India). According to Arabic writers, "it is a sunneh ordinance that the bride wash her feet in a clean vessel, and sprinkle the water in the corners of the chamber, that a blessing may result from this" (Lane, *Arabian Society*, p. 234). Among the Bedouins of Sinai the girl is on her betrothal sprinkled with the blood of a sheep sacrificed for the occasion, and remains for three days in the tent erected for her in front of her father's habitation; at the end of this period "she is conducted by a procession of women to 'a spring of living water' (that is, a perennial spring), and after performing her ablutions is led home to the house of her husband" (Palmer, *The*

townsfolk. Her grinding of wheat over her bare thigh may be a ceremony of purification, or, perhaps, a fertility charm.[1] The taps which her brother gives her with his slipper may have the same object as the beating of the bridegroom, that is, to drive away evil influences, and it is not impossible that a similar idea really underlies the bridegroom's gentle smack, though it is now said to have the purpose of making the bride afraid of him. To the same class of ceremonies, as we have seen, belong the dancing with the henna bowl[2] and the breaking of it, which occur at the feasts of both parties, although at the bride's feast the bowl is not generally allowed to drop and break. At the henna-ceremony of the latter we also meet with burning candles, a bottle of water, salt, steel—in the shape of a needle,—the crossing of swords,[3] loud music and singing, the quivering noise of women, and occasionally powder-play; and in one case a silver coin is said to be tied round her

Desert of the Exodus [Cambridge, 1871], p. 90). In his description of the marriage customs of the Jews, particularly those of Morocco, Addison (*The Present State of the Jews* [London, 1676], p. 46) says that the bride bathes daily for eight days before the wedding. Among the ancient and modern Hindus, as also among other Indo-European peoples, it has been, or still is, considered an essential preparation for a wedding that the bride should have a bath (Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, i. [London, 1837], p. 208; Haas, 'Die Heirathsgebräuche der alten Inder,' in Weber's *Indische Studien*, v. [Berlin, 1862], pp. 198, 278, 294 *sqq.*, 304, 381, 382, 411; Winternitz, 'Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell,' in *Denkschriften der Kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-histor. Classe*, xl. [Wien, 1892], p. 43 *sqq.*).

[1] *Cf. infra*, p. 195 *sq.* n.

[2] In Syria, after being painted with henna, the bride, supported by two of her relatives, makes as if to dance; after which "the ladies take their turn at dancing" (Wortabet, *op. cit.* i. 286).

[3] In other Muhammedan countries there are in the bridal procession two men with drawn swords escorting the bride. See Mornand, *La Vie arabe* (Paris, 1856), p. 58 (Constantine, in Algeria); Van-Lennep, *Bible Lands* (London, 1875), p. 551 (Palestine); Lynch, *Narrative of the United States' Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea* (London, 1850), p. 448 (Jaffa).

wrist as a protection against *jnūn*. The custom of her imitating the appearance of a man by wearing her *lizār* thrown over her left shoulder and a dagger slung over her right, or by having designs resembling whiskers painted on her face, has already been discussed in a previous chapter.[1] She has her face and eyes covered,[2] both as a shelter for herself and because her own gaze is considered dangerous.[3] She is confined in her house for two or three days before the wedding. She has the backs of her slippers pulled up; and sometimes she is carried to and from the place where she is painted with henna. The carrying of the bride, however, may not only be meant as a prophylactic, but may be a ceremonial expression of her bashfulness or pretended reluctance to marrying, as is the case with the crying which is expected from her during the preparations for her departure.[4]

[1] *Supra*, p. 27.

[2] The veiling of the bride is not only universal in the Muhammedan world but has also been common in Europe (v. Schroeder, *Die Hochzeitsbräuche der Esten und einiger andrer finnisch-ugrischer Völkerschaften, in Vergleichung mit denen der indogermanischen Völker* [Berlin, 1888], p. 72 *sqq.*; Samter, *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer* [Berlin, 1901], p. 47 *sqq.*). The importance which the ancient Romans attached to this custom appears from the ordinary use of the word *nubere* or *obnubere* to denote a woman's marrying. The veiling of the bride is referred to in *Genesis*, xxiv, 65.

[3] Among the Touareg of the Ahaggar the bride is not allowed to look at the *fantasia* of the horsemen, because, "si, par malheur, elle regardait un des cavaliers, celui-ci tomberait et un accident se produirait" (Benhazera, *Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar* [Alger, 1908], p. 15).

[4] *Cf.* Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys* (London, 1830), p. 151. For the customary weeping and crying of the bride among Indo-European peoples, see Haas, *loc. cit.* p. 327 *sq.*; Winternitz, *loc. cit.* p. 42 *sq.*; v. Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 86 *sqq.*; Rossbach, *Untersuchungen über die römische Ehe* (Stuttgart, 1853), p. 329. There is no ground for Winternitz' suggestion that this custom is a survival of an earlier marriage by capture (*cf.* Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* [London, 1894], p. 388). Among some South Arabian Bedouins the bridegroom and his bachelor friends have to search for the bride when they come to fetch her;

At the same time there are also connected with the bride's henna-ceremony things and actions which are intended to have a favourable influence on her future. There is the giving of *ġrâma*, but not so frequently nor on so large a scale as at the bridegroom's feast.[1] Besides the coins there are other objects of silver, and eggs and milk, to make her life bright and happy, and the eating of dates to make her prosperous. There are various magical practices intended to make the husband obedient to his wife or to make her dear to him or his family. And there are, finally, certain ceremonies performed with a view either to facilitating the first intercourse between the young couple or to promoting fecundity.

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and when they find the cavern into which she has fled, they are received by her girl-companions with a shower of stones (v. Wrede, *Reise in Ḥadhramaut* [Braunschweig, 1870], p. 262 *sq.*). Among the Bedouins of Sinai, should the girl get an inkling of her betrothal, "it is considered etiquette for her to make a show of escaping to the mountains"; nay, in one tribe she actually "runs off to hide in the mountains for three days, instead of remaining in a tent near her father" (Palmer, *op. cit.* p. 90 *sq.*; *cf.* Burckhardt, *op. cit.* p. 153). "Chez les Beni Ṣaḫer, la femme s'enfuit . . . le premier soir du mariage" (Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* [Paris, 1908], p. 55). Among the Nestorians of Syria the bride remains in a corner of the apartment, or the church, during the greater part of the nuptial ceremony; "when they have reached a part where hands are to be joined, several women catch hold of the bride, veiled as she is, and pull her by main strength half across the room towards her intended husband, who is at first equally resolute in his modest reluctance, but finally yields and advances towards the bride. A smart struggle ensues in his effort to secure her hand; but he at length succeeds" (Van-Lennep, *op. cit.* p. 552 *sq.*). *Cf.* v. Schroeder, *op. cit.* ch. xxiii.: 'Das Entlaufen oder Entfliehen der Braut,' p. 141 *sqq.*

[1] In Egypt, "a large quantity of henna having been prepared, mixed into a paste, the bride takes a lump of it in her hand, and receives contributions (called 'nukoot') from her guests. Each of them sticks a coin (usually of gold) in the henna which she holds upon her hand; and when the lump is closely stuck with these coins, she scrapes it off her hand upon the edge of a basin of water" (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 178). At Mecca the sticking of coins to the forehead of the bride is called *naṣṣah* (Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* ii. 181).

CHAPTER V

THE FETCHING OF THE BRIDE

On the day when the wedding proper begins the bride is taken to her new home. The fetching of her is connected with various ceremonies, which will be now described.

At Fez, when the bridegroom has been shaved, the men of his family, with the exception of his father, together with some female relatives and a crowd of boys, go to fetch the bride. If there is living in her house any unmarried woman or girl, the women say to the bride when she leaves, *Jurr rĕjlek*, "Drag your foot," so that the unmarried one shall get a husband. The bride is accompanied not only by the bridegroom's party, but also by some men of her family, including her brothers (but not her father), a large number of boys, the *ngâgef*, and some—perhaps six or eight—women relatives, who are dressed like herself, so that no one can distinguish between them; this is to protect her from magic and the evil eye. The men and boys of the bridegroom's party head the procession, behind them walk the women, including the bride, and last

come her male relatives, both men and boys. The *ngâgef* and boys carry candles in their hands. When they walk along the streets the boys of the bridegroom's party sing :

ʿAbbâha ʿabbâha u lláh ma ḫallâha,

He (that is, the bridegroom) took her, he took her, and God did not leave her behind.

The boys of the bride's party again sing :

ʿAbbâtʿu ʿabbâtʿu, luwwâtʿu fă ksâtʿu,

She took him she took him, she wrapped him up in his *ksā*.[1]

When the procession comes to running water, one of the women places herself between the bride and the water and throws salt into it before she passes, as a protection against *jnūn* ; and the crossing of any open bridge from which water can be seen is carefully avoided.

If the bridegroom is a shereef or belongs to one of the old Arab families of Fez, the bride is brought to his house in a box with a pointed roof (like that of many a saint's tomb), nicely draped, and decorated with pearl bands. This box, which is called *gúbba*, is pro-

[1] Mr. Meakin (*The Moors* [London, 1902], p. 51) gives the following description of the *ksā* :—"Its cream-white, gauze-like texture surmounts the turban and shields the sides of the head from sun and wind, this ample head-piece being perhaps the most effective part of it all : other folds form abundant skirts and liberal sleeves, while the whole is held in place by a silk-striped, long-fringed end which crosses the breast and hangs gracefully down the back. It is surely the survival or descendant of the famous Roman toga. When taken off, this costume, complete in itself, is found to be but a plain piece of hand-woven woollen material, about six and a half yards by one and three-quarters, with a fringe at each end, and a few silk stripes, also white, at one end." The *ksā* is often called *ḥâyḳ* (see *supra*, p. 96 n.). On the *ksā*, see also Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* (Amsterdam, 1845), p. 383 *sqq.* ; Bel, 'La djâzya,' in *Journal Asiatique*, ser. ix. vol. xx. (1902), p. 210 *sq.* ; Doutté, *Merrâkech* (Paris, 1905), p. 249 *sqq.*

cured by so-called *ṣḥḥâfa*, that is, men whose principal occupation is to carry the dead to the grave, and they also carry the box with the bride to her new home. The bridal box is mentioned by Leo Africanus in his description of Fez, dating from the early part of the sixteenth century. He writes as follows :

"The bridegroom being ready to carry home his bride, causes her to be placed in a wooden cage or cabinet eight-square covered with silk, in which she is carried by porters, her parents and kinsfolk following, with a great noise of trumpets, pipes, and drums, and with a number of torches ; the bridegroom's kinsmen go before with torches, and the bride's kinsfolk follow after : and so they go unto the great market place, and having passed by the temple, the bridegroom takes his leave of his father-in-law and the rest, hying him home with all speed, and in his chamber expecting the presence of his spouse."[1]

At Tangier the bride is transported to the bridegroom's house in a box called *'ammaṛîya*,[2] on the back

[1] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, trans. by Pory, ii. (London, 1896), p. 450.

[2] The Shareefa of Wazan (*My Life Story* [London, 1911], p. 131 *sq.*) gives the following description of an *'ammaṛîya* :—"It is of plain wood, more like a huge meat-safe, with a conical roof. There is a doorway, naturally, but no door, although the woodwork in front of the entrance is raised some few inches. As a general rule the bridegroom's family undertake to decorate the litter, and before assembled guests, musicians, and cries of "zahrits" the work commences.—Take a large sheet, double it, and drape it round, leaving the entrance a little loose. This is securely pinned over the knobs at each corner, and flounced up to the summit of the cone, where it is fixed with a stout string. This covers the woodwork entirely, and serves as a foundation to secure the rest of the decorations. Next, take a length of gauze or muslin, which must be at least eight yards long by one and a half yards wide, and drape it over the sheet, fixing the gauze with pins, or sometimes with needle and cotton. Next, a belt is arranged on the sloping part of the cone-shaped roof, and the cords used by the women for holding up their voluminous sleeves are disposed. The cone itself is dressed with handkerchiefs like a woman's head-dress, and many have asked me if it was the bride's head emerging from the top of the litter! On very rare occasions pearl necklaces have been added, but few people are inclined to use such a display for fear of accidents of an unpleasant kind."

of a mule. She is lifted into it by a brother or uncle and is taken a roundabout way to her new home, where the *nggâfa* lifts her down and puts her on the bed. In the seventeenth century, according to Addison, the "almaria," with the bride in it, was carried through the streets by Christian captives, "and for want of these by Negro's, or by a meaner sort of Whites."[1]

In the north of Morocco the *'ammāṛîya* is found in the country as well as in towns.[2] In the Ġarbîya it is placed not on a mule but on a stallion, so that the woman shall give birth to male offspring; but formerly a camel was used for the purpose. In Andjra the *'ammāṛîya* is made of oleander branches, which are draped with new cloths of different colours, the oleander being supposed to afford particularly good protection against the evil eye. The box is put on the pack-saddle of a mule, and a boy is shut up inside it, as it is said, to keep it steady; or an unmarried youth may take his place so as to get married soon. It is then transported to the bride's house in a long procession of men, women, and children. A brother of the bridegroom leads the mule; but the bridegroom himself

[1] Addison, *West Barbary* (Oxford, 1671), p. 184.

[2] See also Salmon, 'Une Tribu marocaine,' in *Archives marocaines*, i. (1904), p. 209 *sq.* (Faḥṣ); Michaux-Bellaire, 'Quelques tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt,' *ibid.* xvii. (1911), p. 131 *sq.*; Michaux-Bellaire and Salmon, 'El-Qçar el-Ḳebir,' *ibid.* vol. ii. no. ii. (1904), p. 70 *sq.* In the Ḥlot and Ṭlîq, according to Messrs. Michaux-Bellaire and Salmon ('Les Tribus arabes de la vallée du Lekkoûs,' *ibid.* vi. (1906), p. 229), the *'ammāṛîya* is used only by very rich and powerful families, who get one from Alcazar. For the word *'ammāṛîya*, *cf.* Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, ii. (Leyde, 1881), p. 171 *sq.*; Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger* (Paris, 1911), p. 391. According to Lerchundi (*Vocabulario español-arábigo del dialecto de Marruecos* [Tánger, 1892], p. 74) the bridal box is also called *būja*.

and his mother stay at home, whilst his father may go if he likes. The procession is headed by the *ṙma*, or huntsmen, who fire off their guns while walking along; after them comes the bridegroom's brother leading the mule; then two married sisters or other married female relatives of the bridegroom—the so-called *ḥaddâyĭn*; then eight prominent men of the village, among whom is the *fqī*, or schoolmaster, riding on mules with the articles belonging to the *ṣdaq*; then a large crowd of people; and last of all the musicians (*ṭabbâla* and *ġaiyâḍa*). When they arrive with music and powder-play in the yard of the bride's house, her father welcomes them; they are all served with a meal of *kŭsksu*, and the principal men, who are invited inside the house, are also entertained with tea. They have a friendly conversation with the bride's father, promising him that his daughter will be well treated in her new home. Meanwhile the bride herself is sitting in her room together with her *wazâra*, very lightly dressed and with her hair loose, and is weeping all the time since the arrival of the procession. A strong woman of her kin lifts her from the bed and carries her on her back into the *ʿammạ̄rîya*, which has been placed close to the door and covered with blankets in such a manner as to make it impossible for any outsider to see the bride; it is believed that anybody who should see her would get blind. Her brother receives the *ḥlâwa* due to him, as has been said before; but even now the procession is not allowed to leave in peace: the married women who remain behind tell the little boys to throw stones at the

'ammạ̄rîya, and then follows a shower of stones thrown by men and boys of the village. Of this custom a twofold explanation was given: it was said to make the husband love his wife and prevent his sending her back to her old home, but I was also told that it would cause her to take her evil with her instead of leaving it behind. The procession is again headed by the huntsmen, who all the way fire off their guns; then comes the mule with the *'ammạ̄rîya* and the bride, led by the brother who received the money, and guarded on each side by two other brothers or male relatives; then the bride's *ḥạddâyĭn*, who are two married women of her family, followed by her female relatives or friends with the exception of her mother and unmarried sisters, who remain at home; then two mules out of those which were brought from the bridegroom's place, this time loaded with bread and figs presented by the bride's family to be used as provisions on the way; then the general crowd; and last the musicians playing their drums and oboes. The six other mules, ridden by prominent men of the bridegroom's village, were sent in advance to his house laden with the bride's luggage and accompanied by the bridegroom's *ḥạddâyĭn*, whose business is to see that nothing is stolen from them.

If the procession passes a village on its way, a woman comes out and offers the bride some milk, which is supposed to make her a good wife. It is given to one of the *ḥạddâyĭn*, who hands it to the bride inside the box; she drinks a few drops of it and blows on the

rest so as to impart to it a little of her holiness. The *ḥaddâyĭn* and other persons round her then moisten their lips with it, and what is left is taken back to the house, where it is drunk or poured into the churn in order to make the butter plentiful.

Among the Tsūl, on the day of the second henna-ceremony of the bridegroom, people from his village, including his brother but not his mother, go to fetch the bride, taking with them a mare ridden by the brother. This is done even if the bride is living in the same village; in such a case she leaves her home about sunset, otherwise earlier in the day, according to the distance between the bridegroom's village and her own. She is mounted on the mare by a brother or cousin, and is accompanied by a sister or a daughter of her father's brother, or by a paternal aunt, but not by her mother. She has with her two sacks, one of which is filled with *t'rīd*, that is, very thin large round cakes made of wheaten flour, water, and butter, whilst the other contains raisins; both the *t'rīd* and the raisins are the next morning distributed among the men in the bridegroom's village as *z-zérda dyāl l-'ărûṣa*, "the feast of the bride." When she leaves her parents' house her relatives throw stones after her and her party, which is said to relieve her of her *bąs* and make her happy in her marriage. But before this is done it may happen that her father or brother, if displeased with her, flings at her a sooty piece of an old broken earthenware pan, in order that her husband shall soon die and she return

to her old home. She has on her head a conical hat made of cane, bound round with silk cords, from which are hanging two or three silk kerchiefs to conceal her face. She must not look at anybody; if she did there would be fighting and manslaughter at the wedding that very day. Nor must she turn her head lest her husband should die. If the procession passes a village on its way, women come out and sprinkle milk on the bride so as to make her future white.

In the Ḥiâina the bride is fetched by a crowd of women and men, including the bridegroom's mother and brothers, but not his father, unless, indeed, something still remains to be settled with the bride's parents. They take with them a saddled mare which is ridden by a little boy, since an empty saddle would be a bad omen. When the women enter the bride's house they sing:

Ǧéināk á mmû l-ʿărûṣ, gul linna márḥaba,
We have come to you O mother of the bride, say to us welcome.

They are sometimes entertained with a meal and sometimes not. A brother of the bridegroom lifts the weeping bride from the door of the house into the saddle. She has her face covered, so that nobody can see it and she can see nobody, and her hair is loose. A little boy rides behind her, not only to keep her in the saddle but in order that she shall give birth to male offspring. The mare is led by the bridegroom's mother, whilst the bride's mother goes behind holding the tail so as to make it impossible for any wicked

woman to bewitch the bride by pushing her finger into the *vulva* or *anus* of the mare. When the bride and her party leave the village, the children and young folk of the place throw stones after them, and are then themselves pelted with stones by the boys in the procession. There is powder-play all the way, and milk may be offered the bride when passing a village. The procession arrives at the bridegroom's place at night, shortly after he has had his hands rubbed with flour, as described before. The men and women guests, who assemble there about midday, have been entertained with tea, *ṭă'âm* (*sĕksu*) and meat, and bread and meat; and there has been powder-play on horseback as well as music on tambourines (the *bĕndîr* and *ṭa'rêja*) performed by women and men. This is the wedding proper, *l-'ŏrs*.

Among the Arabs of the Ulâd Bu-'Ăzîz the *'ŏrs* (or *'ărs*) takes place in the bridegroom's tent on the evening following *l-bâṭṭa*. The men of his village are practising powder-play, and both they and the other villagers are entertained with *sĕksu* and the meat of a sheep or bullock which has been slaughtered the same afternoon. After this meal a crowd of men, women, and children go in a big procession, some riding but most of them on foot, to fetch the bride from her home, taking with them a camel, on which one or two children ride. The men are firing off their guns, and the women are making their usual quivering noise. When they arrive at the bride's tent they are welcomed by her family and entertained in the open air with *sĕksu* and

meat of the sheep which was slaughtered the day before. The women then enter the tent where the bride is waiting. Her hair is combed and perfumed; she and her mother weep, and the other women are making a quivering noise. Dressed in a cloak (*sĕlhām*) belonging to some man of her family, with her head and face well covered by the hood, she is lifted out of the tent by her brother or, if she has no grown-up brother, by her cousin. She is then put down in a standing position outside the entrance, where a brother or friend of the bridegroom gives her a silver coin, which she hands over to her mother; the object of this is to make her "white" like the silver, that is, a good wife. Her brother or cousin lifts her on to the camel, which besides is loaded with her clothes, some chickens, salt butter, and flour. Custom requires that she should weep on this occasion, otherwise it is said that she does not care for her parents. When she is riding, a boy of her family is sitting in front of her and another behind. The camel is surrounded by her relatives only, while the bridegroom's party walk at some distance from it. The procession advances amidst the quivering noise of women and powder-play on the part of the men; and if they pass a village the inhabitants offer the bride milk, fresh or sour, and a silver coin.

From Arabic-speaking tribes we shall pass to tribes belonging to the various Berber groups. Among the Brâber of the Aiṭ Sádděn, on the wedding day (*ass n-ṭmăġra*), a large crowd of people from the bridegroom's

village go to fetch the bride. If she is living far away, the procession starts in the morning, otherwise later in the day; and if she is from the bridegroom's own village, she is only fetched about an hour before sunset; it is considered a good omen for the people of her new home if she arrives there at the same time as the flocks and herds return from the pastures. The bridegroom's mother, sisters, and other female relatives must be in the procession, and if the bride lives in the neighbourhood even the bridegroom himself may go, though well covered up. Indeed, it may happen that hardly any other living beings but the dogs remain behind. The people take with them a mare, which is ridden by a little brother or male cousin of the bridegroom; and the boy holds in his hand a flag, which is afterwards given to the bride. The mare is led by the bridegroom's mother, while his sister or sisters keep hold of the tail, and the two *imsnéin* walk on either side with their hands on the stirrups. The beast on whose back the bride is going to be carried away may not be a horse or mule, but must be a mare, which is a fruitful animal, and the person who rides it must be a little boy.

When the procession has reached its destination, the bridegroom's mother and sisters take in the bride's clothes, which they have brought with them; and after she has been dressed in them she is painted with henna, as said before. Her little brother or a paternal cousin then removes his *ṯaqbbut* (*jḕllą̄b*) and places it in front of her, or, if he wears an *áslhąm* (*sḕlhām*) or *â'bąn* (*ḥâyḕk*), spreads a part of it on the ground. As a present to

him she puts on it the money called *ṭášḏat*, which was sent by the bridegroom on a previous occasion. She takes a step or two on the cloak or *â'bạn* in front of her, one of the *imsnéin* lifts her up on the mare which is standing close by, and the other *ámsnăi* places behind her a little brother or paternal cousin of hers, who is the same as the one just mentioned in case he is a young boy. Sitting behind the saddle the boy keeps his arms round her waist; the bridegroom's mother again leads the mare, his sister or sisters keep hold of the tail, and the two *imsnéin* walk, as before, on either side with their hands on the stirrups. Any suspicious person, such as a scribe or an old woman, that comes near the mare is driven away by the *imsnéin* and the bridegroom's sisters, who are concerned with protecting the bride from witchcraft (*ssḫör* or *iḥărg'ān*, the latter being the name given to witchcraft practised by women). In the procession there are also people from the bride's village, including her mother, who carries with her the so-called *l'âḏa* (literally, "custom")—dried fruit put into an *aḫreḏ* (the Arabic *mézwud*) or *ṭaḫreṭṭ* (diminutive of *aḫreḏ*), as also a small box (*ásfaḏ*) containing two or three looking-glasses, antimony, walnut root or bark, and *ḥárrăqsus*, a sweet stuff eaten to prevent hoarseness, which is subsequently given by the bride to the bachelors. The bride's father, on the other hand, cannot go with her, nor her grown-up brothers, who must avoid their sister during the wedding period. When they have proceeded a few steps from the house, the boys and bachelors of the village begin to throw

stones at the bride and the people round her, so that they shall carry away with them all the evil (*ainnâiḫḫan*) of the village. A similar ceremony, though on a smaller scale, takes place if the bride and bridegroom are from the same village; and in either case the stone-throwing is returned by the people in the procession. I was told that the object of this ceremony could not be to prevent the bride from coming back either on account of divorce or of her husband's death, since the young men do not like the girls of their village to be taken away from them, and are only too happy if a woman who has been married to a man of another village soon returns. The bride is holding in her hand the white flag brought by the boy who rode the mare. The men of the bridegroom's party discharge gunpowder at it to burn it to ashes, and try to break the cane to which it is fastened, by loading their guns with bent twigs. The bride makes fruitless attempts to prevent the destruction of the flag and cane by waving them round. When successful in their efforts the men laughingly say, "Now she is no longer a virgin," or, "This evening she will be broken like the cane."

When the procession amidst volleys of gunpowder passes a village, the women come out and sprinkle the bride and the people accompanying her with milk or, if they have no milk, with a mixture of henna and water. This was represented to me as a safeguard against evils which would otherwise result from the discharge of gunpowder—it prevents enemies coming to attack the village with their guns; for the milk or henna

brings security and peace. It is to be noticed that the same ceremony took place when the bridegroom's party went to fetch the bride, on that occasion also amidst volleys of gunpowder, and that among the Aiṭ Sáddĕn no milk is offered to the bride to drink.

Among the Aiṭ Yúsi a brother or some other male relative of the bridegroom walks in the centre of the procession of people who go to fetch the bride. He carries on his back a variety of goods: a *ṭaměnṣŭrīṭ*, a *lĭzar*, a belt (*lḥăzám*), an ordinary head-kerchief (*aḥĕnbuš*) and another one made of silk (*ṭášĕbnīṭ*), a pair of slippers (*rréḥiṭ*), a comb (*ṭimšṭ*), and a looking-glass (*ṭimrit*), as also some henna (*lḥánna*), saffron (*zz'afran*), and cloves (*nnwār*)—all presents sent by the bridegroom to his bride. There is music, singing, and dancing, but no powder-play during the march. If the bride's village is far away, the people take with them the mare on which the bride is going to ride; otherwise it is sent the following day. Neither the father nor, in some places, any grown-up brother of the bridegroom must go with the procession, since it would be regarded as shameful if they saw his bride; but his mother may go if she is not too busy.

The procession arrives at the bride's home in the evening, and both men and women are entertained there with tea and *afttäl* (*sĕksu*) and meat. About midnight the bride is painted with henna, and the next morning she is dressed in her bridal costume. She then goes to the entrance of the tent or threshold of

the house, where a brother or, if she has none, a paternal cousin is standing with a part of his *â'ban* spread on the ground. She takes three steps on it and lets a silver coin, a quarter or half a dollar, drop down as a present to the brother or cousin, to whom it is supposed to bring good luck on account of the *baraka* of the bride. With her face covered she is then lifted into the saddle (*tariḥt*) by one or two of the *imsnein* appointed by the bridegroom from among his relatives or friends (he may appoint from two to four), and behind her is placed a little boy who puts his arms round her waist. The mare is led by a woman of the bridegroom's family, whilst women of the bride's family walk behind keeping hold of the tail. The sexual organ of the mare is covered with a kerchief for the purpose of preventing any man or woman from pushing a finger into it, as it is believed that this would deprive the bride of her virginity, and thereby perhaps lead to a speedy divorce. The bride's mother may or may not accompany her daughter, but it is not the custom for her to take dried fruit with her if she goes. There is music, singing, dancing, and powder-play as the procession moves along. The bride holds in front of her a cane, with or without a flag, which she waves to and fro in order to save it from being broken by the men firing at it. They want to blow it to pieces so that the bridegroom shall be able to break the hymen of his bride that night, but out of bashfulness she makes some efforts to prevent it.

There is no general stone-throwing at the departure of the bride from her old home, but it may happen

that some person who is angry with her throws after her seven stones in succession, saying, "May God prevent you from coming back." When they pass a village some woman comes out and sprinkles the bride and her company with milk to give them good luck; but if the year is dry and rain is wanted, the bride is sprinkled with water instead of milk. The *imsnein* capture sheep from the flocks seen on the road, though not more than one animal from each village. The shepherds try to keep the sheep out of the way; but when one is caught it becomes the property of the bride, who decides whether it shall be slaughtered or not, and no compensation can be claimed by its owner.

Among the Aiṭ Nḍēr the bridegroom's mother takes new clothes to the bride, either carrying them on her back or riding with them on a mule, when she goes with the others to fetch the bride. The father may also go if he likes, but more often, it seems, he remains at home. For the same reason as in other tribes the animal on which the bride is brought to her new home must be a mare, and when it is taken to her place it is ridden by somebody, as here also an empty saddle would be looked upon as a bad omen. When the procession arrives at the bride's village it is met with a shower of stones thrown by men and women, as if it were a troop of enemies; but this is only a joke, which soon gives way to a friendly reception. The value of the clothes brought by the bridegroom's mother is written down by two scribes, as it is counted in the

ṣṣḍaq; and a meal of *affäl* (*sĕksu*) is served to them and two or three other persons of importance. The bride is lifted into the saddle by a man belonging to the bridegroom's family, and if she is afraid of falling down a boy is placed behind her. She is well covered up; the Aiṯ Nḏēr, like the Tsūl, believe that there would be fighting the same evening if she looked at anybody on the way. If the bridegroom's village is at some distance the bride's mother accompanies her there, taking with her butter, flour, bread, dried fruit, salt, and sugar; whereas, if the bridegroom lives in a village close by or in the same village, she goes there early next morning. Other women also, but no men, of the bride's family go with the procession. In front of the bride, over the mare's head, the men of the bridegroom's party are firing off their guns at short intervals as they proceed.

Among the Ait Waráin the people who go to fetch the bride include the bridegroom's mother and brothers, but not his father. They bring with them nothing else but a mule with an empty pack-saddle (*lbérda't*) and a saddle-cloth (*tâḥläst*). On their arrival they are entertained with *tâḥrirt* left from the previous evening. The bridegroom's brother lifts the bride from the doorway of the house and puts her on the mule, which is then led by her young sister or some other girl of her family. The mother always goes with her daughter to the bridegroom's house, but returns at once escorted by two or three men; it is believed that if she should stay there she would take away her daughter's

beauty. The procession further includes many other persons from the bride's village, both women and men, among whom may be her brothers but not her father. They take with them a mat (*ǎjertil*), a *tǎḥläst*, some five or six *lemdûd* of roasted barley (*tûrift*), together with raisins, almonds, pomegranates, figs, and honey, as also a skin-sack (*tamzitt*) filled with figs, raisins, almonds, and walnuts. All this is put on the mule on which the bride is riding, seated on a new *taberdŏ't*, or mantle, which has been placed over the saddle-cloth. In front of her men with guns are discharging volleys of gunpowder, while the female members of the procession are playing the tambourine (*ǎllun*). When they pass a village the women come out making a quivering noise, and offer the bride some milk in a bowl, which she takes in both hands and sips from, the women themselves drinking what is left.

Among the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi the wedding is celebrated in the bridegroom's home with much eating, powder-play, and *ṯimušiṯ*, or quivering noise of women. Among the people who go to fetch the bride there are all the bachelors of the village except the *ǎuzir*, and many other men and women besides; but the parents of the bridegroom stay at home. They start early enough in the day for the bride to arrive at the village in the afternoon, at the time for the *'âṣar* prayer, and they take with them a mare or a mule, which must be ridden by somebody so as not to go with an empty saddle. From the entrance of the tent the bride is lifted on to the animal

by one of the *iṣlān*; and she is accompanied on her journey by her mother, who takes with her salt butter, flour, raisins, figs, and dates for the meal she is going to serve the following day at the bridegroom's place.

Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġäl four or five married men from among the bridegroom's relatives, but not his father, go to fetch the bride from her home. After they have been entertained with food she is carried out by her brother or, if she has no grown-up brother, by her paternal or maternal uncle, and is placed on a mule which is led by a boy—a brother or cousin. She is accompanied by men, women, and children from her village, but not by her parents, who remain at home. The women sing and make a quivering noise, and the men fire off their guns. When they pass a village milk is brought to the bride, who dips the little finger of her right hand into it; the milk is afterwards mixed with other milk, so as to give it the benefit of the bride's *baraka* and thus serve as a charm against witchcraft, which is much feared. This day is called *ḍämäġra*, "wedding."

Among the Shlöḥ of Aglu the bride is fetched by a crowd of people, including musicians with drums and women who make a quivering noise. They take with them a camel bearing a so-called *ärägn*, that is a frame made of four wooden posts with a strong network stretched between them, as also a *lizär* for the bride and several pairs of slippers for the men and women of

her family. The bride, with her face covered, is carried out of her room by a brother or some other male relative and placed on the *arägn* on the back of the camel. Four other girls seat themselves there, two on either side of her.[1] The camel is led by a black man, on both sides of it walk two other men, and in front of it goes the *luzîra*, carrying on her head a flower-pot with a sweet-scented plant called *lḥăbâq*. The women of the procession sing :

Tigĭmmi lâjwad as äittâwi ûgaras, ig ĕllan lâjwad ilint tigausîwin,
A house of good people whereto the road will take her ; if there are good people, there are all kinds of good things.

Among the Ait Tâmĕldu the bride is fetched by a large number of men with guns and a few women of the bridegroom's family, but his parents are not among them. On their arrival at the bride's home they are entertained with a meal of bread and meat, or *sĕksu* with meat. Well covered up, the bride walks out into the yard (*tâgrurt*). Her brother, uncle, or cousin lifts her on to the back of the mare or she-mule which the bridegroom's party brought with them, mounts the animal himself, and rides seated in front of her. They are accompanied by a large number of women and children and a few men from the bride's village, but not by her parents. Her mother goes to the bridegroom's house three days afterwards, in the evening, and her father, in the company of a few friends, only

[1] At country weddings in Egypt, when the bride is conveyed to the bridegroom's dwelling seated on a camel, "sometimes four or five women or girls sit with her on the same camel, one on either side of her, and two or three others behind" (Lane, *Modern Egyptians* [London, 1896], p. 184).

when the wedding is over, taking with him the *liqqâma*. Here, also, it is the custom that, if the procession passes a village on its way, women come out and offer the bride milk to drink for good luck.

Among the Igliwa the bride is taken from her home on a mule, to which she is carried by a brother or cousin, or other strong male relative, unless she is so big that she has to walk there herself. Her face is well covered up, and behind her sits a boy called *mûmmû n-islan*. The mule is led by one of her male relatives, whilst the woman who painted her with henna keeps hold of its tail with a cloth so as not to touch the hair with her bare hand; I was told that this custom has a magical foundation, though my informant was unable to explain it. In front of the bride go men discharging volleys of gunpowder, and after her follow women and children. The procession first goes to a river, which the bride crosses on her mule three times to and fro, while the others are waiting on the bank.

At Amzmüz the bride is taken to her new home on a saddled mare. When she is about to mount it she first walks on a blanket which has been spread over the floor and threshold of her room, in order to prevent her treading on the ground, and is then carried to the mare by a strong man, who may or may not belong to her family. Her young brother or, if she has none, some other boy from among her relatives rides behind her. If she has to cross a river on her way, her family claim money from the bridegroom's family because they are taking her so far away; and, if the procession passes a

shrine, the bride on the mare is taken three times round it and *fâṭḥa* is made.

To sum up:—The bride is fetched by relatives of the bridegroom or by other people from his village as well, generally persons of both sexes, though in one case she is fetched by a few men only. The bridegroom himself almost invariably stays at home,[1] and so does, as a rule, his father, and in several tribes his mother, whereas in others the latter frequently or always goes with the procession. In one instance not only the bridegroom's father but also his grown-up brothers are prevented by custom from fetching the bride. The party are generally well received by the bride's family, and in many cases entertained with a meal; but in one tribe stones are thrown at them when they arrive, probably as a sham opposition to their taking away the girl,[2] but perhaps also with a view to preventing their bringing evil with them. Sometimes the bride's brother does not allow them to take away his sister until they have paid him some money, and a similar claim may be made by the bride's family on the road.

In country places the bride is carried to her new home on the back of an animal, on to which she is lifted

[1] In some parts of the East the bridegroom goes himself to fetch the bride. See Van-Lennep, *Bible Lands* (London, 1875), p. 551 *sq.* (Palestine); Lynch, *Narrative of the United States' Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea* (London, 1850), p. 448 (Jaffa); v. Wrede, *Reise in Ḥadhramaut* (Braunschweig, 1870), p. 262 *sq.* The same, as we have seen, was the case at Fez in the days of Leo Africanus.

[2] In Palestine, when the bridegroom and his friends come to fetch the bride, "a show of resistance, and sometimes quite a struggle, ensues, when she is surrounded by the bridegroom's friends, taken possession of, and borne away" (Van-Lennep, *op. cit.* p. 552).

in some tribes by her brother, male cousin, or uncle, or a strong woman of her kin, but in others by a man belonging to the bridegroom's family or some bachelor friend of his. The animal is sometimes led by a relative of the bride, such as her brother or unmarried sister, sometimes by a woman of the bridegroom's family, especially his mother, and in one instance by a black man. The bride is often accompanied by her mother, whereas her father always, and in some tribes her mother also, stay at home. The same may even be the case with her grown-up brothers; and in one of the tribes no men at all from her village go with her.

Various precautions are taken to protect her against *jnūn*, the evil eye, or other harmful influences. At Fez she walks in company with some women who are dressed like herself,[1] and there are burning candles,[2] salt, and an avoidance of open bridges.[3] In the

[1] In Palestine the *bridegroom* leads by the hand a little boy dressed precisely like himself and called "the mock bridegroom," who imitates his slightest movements and thus diverts the company (Van-Lennep, *op. cit.* p. 551 *sq.*). In Egypt, when the bridegroom goes to the mosque before meeting the bride, he walks between two friends dressed like himself (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 180 *sq.*). See also *supra*, p. 26 *sq.*

[2] Among the ancient Jews, when the bridegroom, attended by a company of young men (*Judges*, xiv. 11), brought home his bride from her father's house, the young female friends of both parties joined the train, lighting their torches (*St. Matthew*, xxv. 1 *sqq.*). In modern Palestine lanterns and torches are held aloft in front and along the flank of the bridal procession (Van-Lennep, *op. cit.* p. 551). In ancient Greece and Rome the bride was always taken to her new home with torches (Sticotti, 'Zu griechischen Hochzeitsgebräuchen,' in *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* [Wien, 1898], p. 182; Rossbach, *Untersuchungen über die römische Ehe* [Stuttgart, 1853], p. 335 *sqq.*; Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod* [Leipzig & Berlin, 1911], p. 72 *sqq.*). In Rome one of these torches was made of whitethorn, which was believed to keep away evil influences. Plutarch (*Quaestiones Romanae*, 2) asks why the Romans "light at nuptials five torches, neither more nor less." This custom might well be imitated by the Moors, who look upon the number five as a charm against the evil eye.

[3] In Syria, where the bridal procession also, as at Fez, takes place in the early part of the night, "it is reckoned a very bad omen to pass with the bride before

country she is dressed in a man's cloak,[1] guns are repeatedly fired off in front of the animal on which she rides,[2] and there is loud music [3] and singing [4] and the quivering noise of women.[5] Perhaps the sweet-scented plant which in one place is carried ahead of her is also meant as a charm against evil influences. She is well guarded on her way so that nobody shall be able to harm her by magical tricks ; it is for this reason that her mother or other women of her family or the bridegroom's sister or the woman who painted her with henna go behind the animal, keeping hold of its tail. The object of the blanket or garment spread in front

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a public bath, and therefore those streets are carefully avoided into which the baths open" (Burckhardt, *Arabic Proverbs* [London, 1830], p. 115 n. ; see also Wortabet, *Syria*, i. [London, 1856], p. 287).

[1] Among the Bedouins of Mount Sinai, if the bride belong to another camp than the bridegroom, one of her relatives throws over her an *'abba*, or man's cloak, before she is placed upon the camel which is going to carry her to her new home ; but this is not done if the bride is a widow or divorced wife (Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahâbys* [London, 1830], pp. 150, 152). Among the peasants (*fellaḥîn*) of Palestine the bride is likewise covered with an *'abā* when she is taken to the bridegroom's place (Klein, 'Mittheilungen über Leben, Sitten und Gebräuche der Fellachen in Palästina,' in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, vi. [1883], p. 98).

[2] *Cf.* Féraud, 'Mœurs et coutumes kabiles,' in *Revue africaine*, vi. (1862), p. 430 ; Falls, *Drei Jahre in der Libyschen Wüste* (Freiburg i. B., 1911), p. 277 ; Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land* (London, 1906), p. 111 ; Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* (Paris, 1903), p. 53 ; v. Wrede, *op. cit.* p. 263 (Ḥadramaut).

[3] *Cf.* Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 177 *sqq.* ; Wortabet, *op. cit.* i. 287 (Syria) ; Van-Lennep, *op. cit.* p. 551 (Palestine) ; Meer Hassan Ali, *Observations on the Mussulmauns of India*, i. (London, 1832), p. 388. According to one tradition the Prophet approved of the beating of tambourines at the celebration of a marriage, but in another tradition this practice is condemned (Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages* [London, 1883], p. 233).

[4] *Cf.* Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 184 (country weddings in Egypt).

[5] *Cf.* Falls, *op. cit.* p. 277 (Libyan Desert) ; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 178 *sq.* ; Trumbull, *Studies in Oriental Social Life* (Philadelphia, 1894), p. 49 *sq.* ; Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine* (London, 1885), p. 323 ; Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 53 (Moab) ; v. Wrede, *op. cit.* p. 263 (Ḥadramaut).

of her is to prevent her stepping on the ground or the threshold,[1] and a similar idea no doubt underlies the lifting of the bride.[2] She has her face well covered or is, in some parts of the country, shut up in a box on the animal's back,[3] so as to be sheltered from the evil eye, but also because her own look, or even the sight of her, is considered injurious to others. She must not even turn her head, lest her husband should die. This, like many other taboos, seems to have originated in the feeling that a person who is in a dangerous state or is a source of danger to others should do as little as possible and especially avoid doing anything unusual which is not directly intended as a means of warding off the threatening evil; but at the same time the supposed consequence of the bride's breaking the taboo in question may have been suggested by an association between her turning her head and her returning to her old home in the case of the death of her husband.[4]

The dangers to which the bride is exposed and those

[1] *Cf.* Emily, the Shareefa of Wazan, *op. cit.* p. 136:—"A bride would be unlucky to put her foot to earth at this period."

[2] *Cf. infra*, p. 219 *sq.*

[3] At Constantine, in Algeria, the bride is carried on a horse "dans une sorte de cage entourée de gazes épaisses qui la voilaient aux yeux de tous" (Mornand, *La Vie arabe* [Paris, 1856], p. 58). "In the towns of Palestine and Egypt the bride walks under a canopy, escorted on either side by a man with a drawn sword" (Van-Lennep, *op. cit.* p. 551; see also Lynch, *Narrative of the United States' Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea* [London, 1850], p. 448 [Jaffa]).

[4] "In vielen Teilen von Deutschland ist der Glaube verbreitet, dass sich ein Brautpaar auf dem Wege zur Kirche nicht umsehen dürfe. Als Grund hierfür wird angegeben, wer von den beiden sich umsehe, sehe sich nach einem andern Gatten um, werde also bald verwitwet" (Samter, *op. cit.* p. 147). After mentioning other ideas connected with the prohibition of turning the head, Dr. Samter (*ibid.* p. 148 *sqq.*) suggests—I think without sufficient reason—that the original object of this prohibition is to prevent the person to whom it refers from seeing evil spirits which, if looked at, would do mischief. *Cf. infra*, pp. 231, 250, 255.

to which she exposes others lead to ceremonies of purification. She is taken three times across a river to and fro, or round a shrine, or she is pelted with stones when she leaves her home—a custom which sometimes is said to rid her of evil, sometimes to cause her to take her evil with her or to remove all the evil from the village, but sometimes also to be a safeguard against divorce. In one instance the sprinkling of milk on the bride and other members of the procession is said to have the purpose of averting evil, namely, the fighting which would otherwise result from the discharge of gunpowder; and the same effect is attributed to the sprinkling with water and henna, perhaps because water is "safety"[1] and *lḥânna* phonetically resembles *lhăna*, "quietness." But more commonly the widespread custom of sprinkling the bride with milk or offering milk to her is looked upon as a means of making her future "white" or lucky, whilst the bride in her turn is supposed to impart to the milk a little of her *baraka*, which is then utilised in some way or other by those who offered it; and in one case she is said to be sprinkled with water in order that rain shall fall. Yet I am inclined to believe that the idea of protecting the village which the bride passes from misfortune is a more primitive motive for the customs in question than the intention to benefit her or to derive benefits from her *baraka*. A bridal procession is in Morocco considered to be a cause of ill-luck to anybody who meets it on the road; among the Aiṭ Wäryâġäl it is the

[1] See *supra*, p. 136.

custom that if two bridal processions meet, the women of both parties throw stones at each other to drive away the evil, and in Andjra I was told that such a meeting will cause the death of one of the brides. It should also be noticed that milk or water is offered to strangers who come as guests, and, as we shall soon see, to the bride herself when she arrives at the bridegroom's village, side by side with other ceremonies intended to neutralise the evil influences which she might carry with her to her new home. In one tribe the women on the road give to the bride not only milk but a silver coin, and a similar gift has previously been made to her by a brother or friend of the bridegroom in order to make her a good wife; whereas in other tribes the bride presents her brother or cousin who spreads his cloak or *ḥâyḓk* on the ground for her with some silver money to give him the benefit of her *baraka*.

The animal on which the bride rides is not infrequently considered to exercise a magical influence on her. In mountainous districts it is commonly a mule, and among the people of the plains it is often a camel; but in some tribes near Fez it is invariably a mare on account of its fruitfulness, and in a tribe in Northern Morocco a horse, in order that the bride shall give birth to male offspring. So also the riding of a boy behind her is, sometimes at least, supposed to make her a mother of boys, and it seems that a similar idea underlies the custom which requires that the animal should also be ridden by a little boy when it is taken

to the bride's place ;[1] anyhow it would be a bad omen if it went there with an empty saddle. There is, finally, a practice prevalent in some Berber tribes which is intended to make it easy for the bridegroom to deprive the bride of her virginity.

[1] At Constantine, when the bridal litter is ready, "une mule la conduit chez la femme et y transporte, jusqu'au seuil de sa maison, deux jeunes enfants, garçon et fille, qui attirent sur les époux la faveur divine, et par leur présence leur assurent une postérité" (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Les Cérémonies du mariage chez les indigènes de l'Algérie* [Paris, 1901], p. 37).

CHAPTER VI

THE ARRIVAL AND RECEPTION OF THE BRIDE

At Fez, when the procession arrives at *dăr l-ʿörs*, the men and boys of the bride's party at once go back to her parents' house, from which they came, whilst those of the bridegroom's party proceed to *dăr islān*, where he himself is passing the time with his male friends. Only the women of the procession enter *dăr l-ʿörs*, together with the bride, whom they accompany to the door of the nuptial chamber. Her own relatives then return to her old home, while the women of the bridegroom's party go upstairs. The *ngâgef*, on the other hand, conduct the bride into the nuptial chamber, but remain in its outer compartment when she retires into the *dăḫšûša*. After a little while, however, they also enter the *dăḫšûša*, and paint her eyes with antimony, her under-lip with walnut root, and her cheeks with ochre; and on the cheeks they besides make black spots with a pigment called *ḥărqoṣ* (prepared from wood ashes, pitch, and spices),[1] and white spots with a preparation called *biâḍ l-ûjăh* mixed with water. They then

[1] *Cf.* Meakin, *The Moors* (London, 1902), p. 70.

dress her in her bridal costume and take her out into the open space in the middle of the house, where she is carried round on a small table in the same manner as she was the night before in her own home. The ceremonies of the *t'a'šêq* are now repeated in the presence of the women of the bridegroom's family or kin, his mother taking the same part as her mother on the former occasion; but in the singing of the *ngâgef* the words *hā z-zīn m-messûs* and *hā hîya märhôna* are now omitted, as the bride's face has been painted with cosmetics and she no longer is "pawned." After this performance is over the bride retires to the *däḫšûša* and remains there alone, while the mistress of the *ngâgef* sits in waiting in the outer compartment, and the other *ngâgef* are sent by the bridegroom's mother to *dăr ıslān* with a bundle of new clothes for her son.

In Andjra, when the bride and her company approach the bridegroom's village, the women receive them on the road with their usual quivering noise, and accompany them to the bridegroom's house. On their arrival at the yard his mother offers the bride some milk, a little of which is drunk by her and the *ḥaddâyĭn*, whilst the rest is returned to the mother, who subsequently gives it to her son to partake of just before he enters the room in which he will meet the bride. His mother also receives her daughter-in-law with a raw egg and a cloth filled with little pieces of different kinds of bread, raisins, figs, and walnuts. She dips the egg into the milk and then into some flour, and after pro-

nouncing a blessing, breaks it by throwing it at the forehead of the mule, "in order that the bride shall be white and red like the egg and bring no evil (*baṣ*) with her, but be lucky and a blessing to her husband." She then throws the bread and dried fruit over the *ʿammaṛîya*, so that the married couple shall have much to eat. What falls on the ground is picked up and eaten by the children, or is taken by persons who want to impart the bride's *baraka* to their corn by putting it underneath the heap (*ṣâba*) on the threshing-floor. The bride's brother takes her out of the box and puts her on the back of a strong woman belonging to the bridegroom's family, by preference one of his *ḥaddâyĭn*, who carries her into the room. All this is done in the shelter of blankets, so that nobody else can see the bride, while the assembled women fill the air with their quivering noise. The *ʿammaṛîya* is now undraped, the covering being taken into the room where the bride is sitting. There is much music and powder-play in the yard, and the bridegroom's parents entertain the people with *kŭsksu* and meat. This day is called *nhār l-ʿammaṛîya*.

Among the Tsūl, when the bride arrives at the bridegroom's house, she is received there by his mother carrying on her back a sieve (*ġârbāl*), covered with her *izār*; the meaning of this custom is that the young wife shall give birth to children, the sieve representing a baby.[1] While the bride is still on the mare, the

[1] Among the Aiṭ Wāryâġāl, when a person buys sheep or goats, he puts a sieve at the entrance of the yard and makes the animals step over it so that they

bridegroom's mother hands to her a tray containing barley with *t'rīd* on the top of it. She takes hold of the tray, throws the *t'rīd* in all directions over the people, thus conferring on them the benign virtue of her *baraka*, and then returns the tray with the barley. A brother or cousin of the bridegroom lifts her down from the mare. The bridegroom's mother pours the barley into the bride's *izār*, which she holds up with her hands, and the bride gives a little of it to the mare to eat, throwing the rest of it in its face, "so that the year shall be blessed and the mare give birth to foals." One of the bachelors mounts the mare and rides on it in order to get married soon. The bridegroom's brother or cousin lifts the bride into the house and puts her down on the nuptial bed, after which she kisses his head. The women, married and unmarried, enter the room and eat a meal there, while the men are having their supper outside in the yard. The bride is all the time sitting on the bed with covered face, partaking of nothing. After the meal the women go away, and she remains alone in the room waiting for her husband.

In the Ḥiâina the procession goes seven times round the bridegroom's house, after which the mare with the

shall multiply. At Tangier, according to the Shareefa of Wazan (*My Life Story* [London, 1911], p. 306), "a woman who has had the misfortune to lose all her children except the first one at birth, takes a sieve and rolls it behind this surviving child, whom she burns on the heel with a spoon-handle every time another child is born, so that its brother or sister may live." For the use of a sieve in wedding ceremonies, see Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen* (Strassburg, 1884), pp. 357, 358, 360, 361, 364; Samter, *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer* (Berlin, 1910), p. 99. Mannhardt looks upon it as a symbol of fecundity.

bride is halted at the door. While she is still mounted, the bridegroom's mother offers her a palmetto tray containing some *ṭa'âm* (*sěksu*), wheat, flour, or *tšîša*; she takes the tray with both hands and throws it with its contents backwards over her head, thereby throwing away the *baṣ*. She is then lifted off by the bridegroom's brother and put down at the entrance of the house, from which she walks to her bed. When she is carried from the animal, the men fire off their guns and the women make their quivering noise and sing:

Nezzélha ya ḥmâha, yeṉ'ál bak u bâha,

Set her down O her brother-in-law, curse your father and her father.

The bride remains in the room in the company of the unmarried girls, who only leave her alone shortly before the entering of the bridegroom.

In the Ġarbîya the bride on her animal is taken three times round the bridegroom's house or tent from right to left. Outside its entrance a woman belonging to her family throws on the *'ammaṛîya* dried fruit, which the people pick up and eat. The *'ammaṛîya* is then taken down and placed close to the entrance. The bride's brother or cousin lifts her into the house or tent and puts her on the nuptial bed, but he first pricks the bed several times with the point of his dagger as a precaution against witchcraft.

Among the Ulâd Bu-'Ăzîz, also, the procession, on the arrival at the bridegroom's tent, goes three times round

it, after which the camel is made to kneel down before the entrance. The bridegroom's mother or sister hands to the bride some water, which she sprinkles on the people round her in order that there shall be sufficient rain during the year. The mother also offers her some barley or wheat, which she likewise throws on the people so as to make the year good. The bridegroom's brother lifts her from the camel into the tent and puts her down on the bed. Her female friends enter with her and hang up a *ḥâyĕk* as a curtain (*ḥâjba*) to prevent others from seeing her. Behind the curtain they all have a meal of *sĕksu* together, while the men and boys who have come from the bride's village are entertained outside the tent.

Meanwhile the bridegroom, dressed in a *sĕlhām* with the hood drawn over his forehead, is sitting in another place with some friends. A band of scribes come and sit down with them, and they all have a meal. They then stand up and the scribes recite something from the Koran, the bridegroom standing in the centre together with two other men who are dressed like himself, so that the people and especially the bride shall not be able to recognise him. The whole group proceed slowly towards the tent, the scribes all the time continuing their recitation. When they come near the tent the bridegroom and the two men who are dressed like him rush inside it. As soon as they begin to run, the men and boys of the bride's village beat them with sticks; and when they enter and pass through the tent the bride smacks one or more of them with her slipper (*räḥîya*), while the other

women inside the tent strike them with sticks. If the bride succeeds in hitting the bridegroom she is supposed to become his mistress; but it may also be that she, not recognising him, hits one of the other men.

After this ceremony is completed the bridegroom, together with the scribes, enter the compartment behind the curtain, from which the bride and her women companions have previously moved to the other part of the tent. The scribes ask the bridegroom for "a chicken," and after receiving from him a small sum of money and sugar, recite something from the Koran. The bridegroom's mother brings them dates and incense; the latter they burn and the dates they distribute to the bridegroom, to each other, to the bride and her mother, and to anybody who comes and asks for some and is willing to pay a little money for the gift and the blessing accompanying it. Persons who are desirous of offspring, or suffer from some illness, are particularly anxious thus to secure the blessings of the scribes, who first spit on the dates which they give them to eat. The scribes make *fâṭḥa* on behalf of the bridegroom, and then go away with him, after which the bride and her female friends enter the division behind the curtain and remain there while the bridegroom is painted with henna outside the tent, as has been said before. The same evening, for some hours, the bridegroom's mother carries on her back a *ġârbạ̈l*, as if it were a baby.

Among the Aiṯ Sáddĕn the bridal procession, on

arriving at the bridegroom's village, goes three times round the mosque, from right to left. While this is being done the bride mutters some words like these :— "O Lälla Ǧebrîn (the name given by women to a mosque), bless me with sons who will become scribes." The bride and her company then proceed to the temporarily erected tent, into which she is to be taken,[1] and go round it three times. At the commencement of this tour the men of the party take by force the headgears of the bridegroom's mother and sisters and those of the *imsnéin*, as also the slippers of the bride, which must afterwards be redeemed by the *l'âḏa* brought by her mother. After the three circuits round the tent the procession stops outside its entrance. Turned towards the tent the bride, still on horseback, moves her head and hands as if she were praying, and says by herself four times :—*Llâhû kbar*, "God is most great." She then beats the tent three times with the remains of the cane which was broken by the men of the bridegroom's party on the road, and throws it at the tent ; if it falls down on or behind the tent it is considered a good omen, whereas it is regarded as an evil foreboding if the stick does not reach the tent. This ceremony is intended to remove any evil which may be in the bridegroom's family and to expel death from the domestic animals ; it would be very unpleasant for the young wife if a child or animal should die shortly after her marriage, as its death would naturally be

[1] Among the Aiṯ Sâddĕn weddings are celebrated in small tents pitched for the occasion.

associated with her presence. The bridegroom's mother sings :

Arẓnd aḥárfi aḥ̣ámmi, ánsers lgûḍa,

Bring a ram with black rings round its eyes[1] (this being addressed to the bride), let us set down the excellent woman.

This song is repeated by the other women. The *imsnéin* take down from the mare the saddle with the bride sitting in it, and thus carry her into the tent, which is filled with men, women, and children. A woman of the bridegroom's family puts into the bride's hand some butter, with which she smears the *áḥ̣ămmar*, or horizontal pole supporting the roof of the tent ; this is done that there shall be an abundance of "grease"—butter, oil, and honey. The bridegroom's sister, or some other woman of his household, pours barley into the bride's lap ; the latter gets up and, with her face covered as before, goes to the mare outside the tent, lets it eat three times of the barley, and throws the rest over its head, so that there shall be much corn in the household. When she is back again the bridegroom's mother throws a silk kerchief round her neck and leads her by it to the four corners of the tent, saying at each corner one of the following sentences :—*Hāy ázigᵛlál nĕ-lwášun*, "Here is the threshold of boys" ;—*Hāy ázigᵛlál n-wúlli ḍ-lzzyárn*, "Here is the threshold of sheep and cattle" ;—*Hāy ázigᵛlál nĕ-lmân ḍĕ-lhăna*, "Here is the threshold of safety and quietness" ;—

[1] An *aḥárfi aḥ̣ámmi*, that is, a ram with black rings round its eyes, is considered to possess much *baraka* ; it is therefore looked upon as the most suitable animal that can be chosen for sacrifice (Westermarck, 'The Popular Ritual of the Great Feast in Morocco,' in *Folk-Lore*, xxii. [1911], p. 141).

Hăy dzigᵛlăl nă̆-rrḥa, "Here is the threshold of cheapness." In former days, when the Aiṭ Sádděn lived in tents, the bridegroom's mother used to take the bride to the fireplace, but in this provisional tent there is no such place.

The bride now sits down on a mat. A bachelor lifts up one of the *ṭirrsăl* (sing. *ṭărrselṭ*), or vertical tent-poles, and puts it into her lap, in order that she shall remain in her new home and support it by becoming a mother of sons, as the *ṭărrselṭ* supports the tent. While she is sitting with the tent-pole in her lap she is surrounded by the bachelors, to whom the *imsnéin* distribute the dried fruit brought by the bride's mother as also the antimony and walnut-root, with which they paint their eyes and lips, and the *ḥărrăqsus*, with which they clear their voices. The bridegroom's mother comes and sings :

Ā ṣbáḥḥᵉm ā ṭislit; ā lălla ṣemm ăggᵃn āmm lqandil, issidd uḥamĕnnĕm ṣigᵛān,

Oh good morning to you O bride; O lady you became like a lamp, your tent became very bright.

All the bachelors and women repeat the song to the accompaniment of tambourines. This ceremony is called *aṣăbbăḥ*—it is "the morning salutation" of the bachelors, although other persons join in it. The time when it takes place depends upon the hour when the bride arrives, and in case the weather is bad it may be postponed till the following morning when the guests who went away in the evening have returned. It is only after the *aṣăbbăḥ* that the bachelors are entertained

with a meal, although the other people may already have been served with food on the arrival of the procession. The bride has her meal alone or with her mother or sister only, either in the tent after the people have left it, or in the house to which she retires to meet the bridegroom. She must not eat in the presence of the people nor speak to anybody nor be spoken to, and she has her face covered all the time.

Among the Aiṭ Yúsi, when the bride and her company come near the bridegroom's village, they are sprinkled with milk or, if rain is wanted, with water, by villagers who come to receive them. The bride is not allowed to enter the village until she has been taken three times round it; but if, as is often the case, there are several brides whose weddings are celebrated on the same occasion they must wait for each other so as to perform this ceremony all together, and if any of them is from that village itself she also comes out and joins them, riding on a mare. In case there is in the village a woman who was married within a month previously, she leaves the place before the brides are taken round, since it is believed that otherwise all the evil would fall on her; this obviously shows that the ceremony in question is performed for the purpose of ridding the brides of the evil influences which they are carrying with them. If the village contains a mosque the brides also ride round it three times, and it may be that in such a case the tours round the village are dispensed with. While the bride is being taken round

the village or mosque, volleys of gunpowder are discharged, and the bachelors and other young men try to rob her of something; this results in a fight between them and the *imsnein*, who are armed with sticks and swords, and the women as well, who all do their best to defend the bride. What is taken away from her is afterwards returned, but the robbers have to be compensated with a meal of *afttäl* (*sĕksu*) with salt butter offered them by the bridegroom's mother, or with dried fruit brought by the mother of the bride.

After her tour round the village or mosque the bride is taken to the entrance of the bridegroom's tent; in some parts at least of this tribe, weddings are always celebrated in tents. She stands up in the stirrups with her face turned towards the entrance, and the bridegroom's mother or sister, or some other woman of his family, gives her a palmetto tray (*ámiḍun*) with red raisins, which she receives with both hands and throws over her head; the raisins, which are supposed to bring good luck on account of their sweetness, are picked up and eaten by the children. A lamb is handed to the bride by the bridegroom's mother or, if she has no lamb, by some other person, after which the bride hurls the animal over the tent—so that there shall be many sheep in the village. She beats the tent three times with the cane in her hand, in order that the evil shall go away from it; if shortly after the bride's arrival a death or some other unhappy event takes place in the village, it is attributed to her unlucky fringe (*ṭaúnza*), whereas good events indicate that she has a lucky fringe.

When she has beaten the tent she flings the cane at the top of it. It is believed that if it falls down on the top the evil will go from the tent only, whereas if it falls down behind the tent the whole village will be cleared of the evil; but I have also heard that in the former case the husband will rule over his wife, whereas in the latter the wife will rule over her husband. The bride then stands up on the saddle, the *imsnein* keeping hold of her feet to prevent her from slipping, and moves both hands three times towards the East, each time repeating the words, *Llâhu kĕbâr*, "God is most great"; this is called *ṭázallĭt n-tslĭt*, "the prayer of the bride." She sits down in the saddle, and is in this position carried into the tent by one of the *imsnein*, who subsequently replaces the saddle on the back of the mare. The bridegroom's mother puts some *afttăl*, made without butter, into the lap of the bride, who walks out and three times gives the mare a little of it to eat, then throwing the remainder in its face. The object of this ceremony is said to be to remove from the mare the evil influences with which it is affected on account of having been ridden by the bride and which would otherwise cause its death or barrenness; for there is *baraka* both in the bride and the mare, and if *baraka* comes into contact with *baraka* it may lead to disastrous consequences. When the bride is back again in the tent, one of the *imsnein* takes her on his right shoulder and the bridegroom's mother gives her some salt butter to smear on the horizontal pole supporting the roof of the tent, in order that there shall always be butter in

the larder. The *amsnäi* dances a little with the bride seated on his shoulder and then sets her down on her bed.

Meanwhile the guests have been entertained with *afttäl* and salt butter, neither bread nor meat being served on this occasion. If several weddings are celebrated simultaneously, the people who have assembled outside the wedding-tents come together to be counted and divided into groups of equal numbers, to be treated by the families of the various bridegrooms, the divisions being made on the principle that people from the same village shall eat together. After the meal there is music, singing, and dancing outside and inside the tents. When most of the guests have left the tent where the bride is, the bridegroom's mother offers her some *afttäl* on her uncovered right thigh, and the bride snaps up a little of it three times, slightly biting the mother-in-law; this is supposed to make the two women friendly to each other.

Among the Aiṭ Nḍer the procession goes seven times round the tent in which the bride and bridegroom will meet. It is in most cases a small tent, provisionally pitched, where the bride spends the first seven nights and days and not infrequently the seven following nights as well; but sometimes the meeting takes place in an enclosure (*ṭuġlilt*) in the middle of the tent occupied by the bridegroom's family. Persons belonging to the latter throw dried figs over the bride and the mare she is riding—"so that everything shall be sweet,"

like the figs. When the animal stops outside the entrance of the tent, the same man as previously lifted the bride into the saddle now lifts the saddle with her sitting in it inside the tent and puts it down on the bed, where it is left for seven days. The bride gets up and kisses the head of the man, who gives her a silver coin for good luck. A woman of the bridegroom's family pours some barley into a fold of her clothes; she walks with it to the entrance of the tent where the mare is standing, gives the animal to eat of it, and throws the rest over its head. The woman also puts some salt butter into the bride's right hand and lifts her up so that she can reach the *ạḥămmar*, or horizontal pole of the tent, on which she smears the butter. She then sits down on the bed, and other women, married as well as unmarried, keep her company, playing and singing. They all have supper there; but when the bride eats she hides herself underneath her clothes, and when she has something to say to any of the women she only speaks in a whisper. The other women go away leaving the bride alone to receive the bridegroom.

Among the Ait Waráin the procession is met outside the bridegroom's village by the villagers. The bride throws over her shoulder her *taberdŏ't*, which with its designs gives her a more picturesque appearance. The bridegroom's mother offers her milk, as also some flour in a palmetto or esparto tray (*ándū* or *tänduti*); of the former she drinks a little and sprinkles some on the people, and of the latter she takes a double handful and

throws it over her head to get rid of all the evil influences attached to her. She stands up on the pack-saddle making *fâṭḥa* with both hands without saying anything, and the people round her likewise hold out their hands calling down blessings on themselves. Still standing on the mule, she takes some dried fruit from the skin-sack (*tamzitt*) and throws it on the people, who are so anxious to eat of it that persons who have not been able to catch any even buy some from others who have been more successful; on account of the bride's *baraka* it is supposed to remove evil from those who partake of it. The mule is now led seven times from right to left round the little mosque outside the village; this was said to be a salutation to the *ditmort* (contraction of *ait tmort*), that is, the spiritual masters of the place, including both saints and *jnūn*.

The procession enters the village and stops outside the bridegroom's dwelling. His brother lifts the bride from the mule and carries her inside the house or tent, where she goes and sits down on the bed. The unmarried girls keep her company, playing and singing, and they all have a meal together. The bridegroom's mother enters and, after the bride has kissed her hand, takes her to the fireplace (*timssi*) and washes her right foot and hand over one of the three fire-stones (*inyān*), in order that she shall be as permanent in the house as these stones, which the Ait Waráin, unlike many other Berbers, never change. The water is then sprinkled on the cattle, so as to make her fond of them. The bridegroom's mother also takes the bride's silk kerchief

(*tâsebništ*), or cotton kerchief (*tâšenbûšt*), and ties it very firmly on the head of a donkey; if it remains there till the following morning, it is a sign that the wife, too, will remain with her husband, whereas, if the kerchief has come off before then, it is believed that they will soon separate.

In one division of this tribe, the Ait Ḥâssan, it is the custom for the bride, when she arrives at the bridegroom's village, to be taken to a *târga*, or little watercourse made for the purpose of watering the soil, where she dismounts. There she meets the bridegroom, standing on the other side of it. He pushes a piece of cane over the surface of the water towards the bride opposite him. If it floats straight across to her it is a good omen, indicating that the husband himself will be straight, whereas the opposite will be the case if it takes another course. The bride then returns the cane in the same manner towards the bridegroom, and now it is her future conduct that is indicated by the way in which it floats over the water.

Among the Aṭ Ubâḫṭi the bride is taken seven times round the bridegroom's tent from right to left and then stops outside the entrance. His mother throws over her figs, dates, or raisins, which the people pick up and eat; the object of this ceremony was said to be to make the bride "sweet" to the bridegroom's family. His mother then sprinkles water on her, which is supposed to produce a rainy season and make the year good. The bride makes no *fâṭḥa*, as is done

in other tribes. The bachelor who lifted her on to the animal now takes off the saddle (*trīḥt*) with her in it, and carries her thus into the tent, where he puts his load on the bed prepared in an enclosure (*tûġlĕlt*) in the middle of the tent. But before they enter the tent two or three bachelors fire off their guns so close to the bride that she is quite enveiled in the smoke; this was said to be done in order to prevent her evil influences from affecting the *islān*. The saddle remains in the tent till the following morning, and the bridegroom's mother smears on it henna, or some blood of the sheep or goat slaughtered by her husband, so that it shall cause no harm; I was told that the slaughter of the animal for the purpose of providing the wedding party with food serves at the same time the object of removing the danger attached to the saddle in which the bride has been riding. Sitting on the bed she takes off her belt; for contrary to the custom of many other tribes she has come there with her belt on. She is attended by a young married woman friend, who, however, leaves her alone before the bridegroom enters.

Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġäl the bride, on her arrival at the bridegroom's house before sunset, is welcomed by his mother with milk, into which she dips the little finger of her right hand. The man who lifted her on to the mule—her brother or uncle—has a sham-fight with the bridegroom: he takes a flag which the women have brought with them and goes to the door of the bridegroom's house, inside which the latter himself is stand-

ing, likewise holding a flag in his hand, and the two men, on either side of the threshold, now knock the flag-staffs together. The bridegroom's father, or some other member of his family, gives to the bride, still sitting on the mule, some barley, which she throws on the people round her; they catch of it what they can and mix it with their own barley so as to give it the benefit of the bride's *baraka*.

The man who had the fight with the bridegroom lifts the bride from the mule into the house, where he passes with her between the bridegroom's legs—so as to make her a good wife. The bridegroom then takes her in his arms and puts her down on the bed, removes her headgear, kisses her on her cheeks, and leaves the room. Outside the house he is attacked by all the women assembled there, who strike him with their fists; but he makes his escape through the crowd with a dagger in his hand, without hitting anybody. He goes and sits down with the *iuzîrẓn* in the yard, and then has his supper with them in a room, spending the night in their company. His own room is after his departure invaded by the women, including his mother, who have their supper with the bride and also spend the night with her; but before they go to sleep they dance and sing in the yard, while the men are firing off their guns in the air. It should be added that after the bride is lifted into the bridegroom's room, the boy who led the mule rides on it three times round the house; he then removes the bridle and hides it somewhere, or gives it to somebody to keep for him, the bridegroom having

to buy it back for a peseta or two. Next morning a meal is served to the guests, after which they go away ; but before the women leave, the bridegroom must give each of them a silver coin as a present.

Among the Shlöḥ of Aglu, when the procession arrives at the bridegroom's house in the evening, the camel is made to kneel down, and the bride is carried into the house by her brother or some other male relative. While she is taken there the people of the procession protect her with a blanket against the bridegroom, who is throwing down dates, almonds, and raisins from the roof where he is sitting with his *luzîr*. The women sing :—*L'âdanĭk a mûlăi*, " Your custom, O my lord." The dried fruit is shaken off the blanket and picked up and eaten by the people. The bride is put down on a bunk, to which she must be carried, as it would be bad for her to walk. While she is sitting there the bridegroom's mother takes to the door two small pails (*tâlmărjlin*, sing. *tâlmărjĕlt*), one filled with milk and the other with water, which are handed to the bride by the girls attending her ; she drinks three times from each, only uncovering her mouth. She hardly eats anything that evening, so that she shall not be obliged to leave her bed, nor does she speak much. The bridegroom, who spends his time out-of-doors in company with his male friends, only comes to her in the evening of the following day, which she passes on her bed, without treading on the floor. It should be added that in Aglu all the young men of a village who

marry in the same year have their weddings on the same day in the autumn. If shortly after the weddings there should come locusts instead of the expected rain, the newly married people are taken outside the village and told to make sacrifices at a saint's tomb so as to put a stop to the plague, which is supposed to have been caused by their weddings.

Among the Ait Táměldu the same man as lifted the bride on to the mare or mule also lifts her down when she arrives at the bridegroom's place. She walks into his house accompanied by other women, and in this tribe also it is the custom for the bridegroom, sitting on the roof or upper floor of the house, to throw down dried fruit—dates, walnuts, and figs,—as well as bread, on the blanket held over the bride and on the people round her. This ceremony was said to serve the object of averting the evil eye from the bride, as the things thrown would attract the looks of the people. After she has entered the house the bridegroom's mother gives her milk to drink; and she spends there the night in the company of other women. This evening is called *üḍ n-tmĝra*, "the night of the wedding."

Among the Igliwa the procession makes a halt at a little distance from the bridegroom's house, at the door of which his family are standing, crying out their welcome. The bride's brother, or some other man of the party who is a good speaker, answers that they will not enter until the things agreed upon are given them. He is asked, "What do you want?" to which he replies, "We want slaves for the wife, a male and a

female." This and the rest of the dialogue, however, is only a sham one. The bride is received with dates, flour, henna, and milk. After she has bowed her head three times towards the East, she dips the little finger of her right hand into the milk and wipes it on the mane of the mule. Her people ask, "Where are the dates?" The bridegroom and his friends, who are sitting with him on the roof of the house, reply, "They are coming with camels from Sahara." They then begin to throw dates on the blanket with which four men are protecting the bride from the bridegroom's attempt to strike her with the cane he holds in his hand. Her people ask for more and more dates, and at an opportune moment the man who lifted her on to the mule takes her down and rushes with her into the house. If he does this so cleverly that she escapes the blow intended for her, the bridegroom is put to ridicule.

At Amzmüz, when the bride arrives at the bridegroom's house, a man fires a shot inside the room she is going to occupy, after which she is taken down by the man who lifted her on to the mare and carried straight to the bed. As she approaches the door the bridegroom, who is sitting on the roof, throws on her head walnuts, dates, almonds, and grit removed from the wheat on the day when it was cleaned;[1] and the fruit is picked up and eaten by the children.

It appears from these descriptions that the ceremonies which are connected with the bride's arrival at

[1] See *supra*, p. 95.

the bridegroom's place are largely intended to prevent her from carrying evil with her to her new home. For this purpose she is taken either three or seven times round the bridegroom's house or tent or the mosque of his village or the village itself.[1] The milk or water which is offered her or sprinkled upon her[2] in all

[1] Among the Bedouins of Mount Sinai the bride, mounted on a camel, is taken three times round the bridegroom's tent, while her companions utter loud exclamations (Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahâbys* [London, 1830], p. 150). Dr. Seligmann informs me that among the Kabbabish, an Arabic-speaking nomad tribe on the Kordofan-Darfur border, the slave or slaves who bring the bride to the tent where she is going to meet the bridegroom carry her three times round the outside of it. Among the Touareg of the Ahaggar "les hommes amènent *le marié* à la tente. On lui en fait faire le tour trois fois" (Benhazera, *Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar* [Alger, 1908], p. 16). *Cf.* the Indo-European custom of taking the bride round the fireplace (Haas, 'Die Heirathsgebräuche der alten Inder,' in Weber's *Indische Studien*, v. [Berlin, 1862], pp. 316 *sqq.*, 396; Winternitz, 'Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell,' in *Denkschriften der Kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-historische Classe*, xl. [Wien, 1892], p. 57 *sqq.*; Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, i. [Westminster, 1896], p. 11 :—"In India the bride and bridegroom are made to revolve round the sacred fire or the central pole of the marriage-shed"; v. Schroeder, *Die Hochzeitsbräuche der Esten und einiger andrer finnish-ugrischer Völkerschaften, in Vergleichung mit denen der indo-germanischen Völker* [Berlin, 1888], p. 127 *sqq.*; Samter, *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer* [Berlin, 1901], p. 20 *sqq.*), which may also have been a purificatory rite; in his description of the wedding ceremonies of ancient India Dr. Winternitz (*loc. cit.* p. 42) remarks :—"Dass man Böses von der ins Haus einziehenden Frau befürchtete, geht aus verschiedenen Versen hervor." In Perthshire it is, or was, the custom for bridal processions to go round the church (v. Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Hochzeitsbuch* [Leipzig, 1871], p. 236). Of the Jews in Morocco Addison (*The Present State of the Jews* [London, 1676], p. 52) writes :—"At the Wife's first meeting of her Husband she walks thrice about him, because the *Scripture* saith, A woman shall compass a man, Jer. 31. 22. And the Man walks once round the Woman."

[2] Among some Algerian Berbers, "dès que la mariée a mis pied à terre pour pénétrer dans sa nouvelle demeure, on lui fait boire du lait frais, du *leben* (lait aigri) et de l'eau" (Féraud, 'Mœurs et coutumes kabiles,' in *Revue africaine*, vi. [1862], p. 430 *sq.*). The peasants of Palestine place on a bride's head a jar of water, which she is to carry thus into the bridegroom's house; and if she be too tall to pass under the doorway with the jar on her head, an egg is substituted for it (C. J. Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land* [London, 1906], p. 114). In Rome it was the custom to receive a bride "with water and fire" (*aqua et igni accipere*); see Rossbach, *op. cit.* pp. 351, 361 *sqq.*, and Samter, *op. cit.* p. 14 *sqq.* Water ceremonies have been practised at weddings in many other European countries (v. Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 133 *sqq.*), as well as in ancient India (Haas, *loc. cit.* pp. 341-342, 358, 365, 367, 373).

probability serves the same object, even though the sprinkling of water sometimes is said to bring about rain. She is also received with grain, flour, bread, *sěksu*, *tšíša*, *tʿrīd*, or red raisins, and very commonly dried fruits—raisins, figs, dates, walnuts, or almonds—are thrown over her or the bridal box by the bridegroom's mother or other people of his family or the bridegroom himself or, in one case, by a woman of the bride's family.[1] The throwing of bread and dried fruit is in

[1] Among some Algerian Berbers, after the bride has drunk the milk and water offered her, "on lui donne une poignée de blé, d'orge et de sel, qu'elle doit jeter, à droite et à gauche, par dessus ses épaules; c'est, disent-ils, pour faire descendre la bénédiction et l'abondance dans la famille" (Féraud, *loc. cit.* p. 431). Among the Maronites "the bride, conveyed to her new home, is pelted with corn and raisins, and on arriving she flings a pomegranate amid the party, which is greedily seized and divided by the bridegroom's companions (Conder, *Heth and Moab* [London, 1885], p. 293). The custom of throwing grain, seeds, or dried fruit of one sort or another over the bride or over the bridegroom as well, or sometimes over other persons present at the wedding, has been observed from India to the Atlantic Ocean (Winternitz, *loc. cit.* p. 75 *sqq.*; Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 26 *sq.*; Mannhardt, *op. cit.* p. 354 *sqq.*; Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 112 *sqq.*; Samter, *op. cit.* p. 1 *sqq.*; Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, ii. [London, 1849], p. 101:—"The English, when the bride comes from church, are wont to cast wheat upon her head"). Mannhardt (*op. cit.* p. 365 *sqq.*) and Mr. Hartland (*Primitive Paternity*, i. [London, 1909], p. 109) think that this custom is intended to promote fecundity; and so it obviously is in certain cases. Addison (*op. cit.* p. 52) states that, among the Jews of some countries, "the Guests bring with them handfuls of corn, which they cast at the New-Married, saying, *Increase and Multiply*. By which they also wish them *Peace* and *Abundance*." With reference to the present Jews of Morocco Dr. Jansen ('Mitteilungen über die Juden in Marroko,' in *Globus*, lxxi. [1897], p. 359) writes:—"14 Tage vor der Trauung wird an einem Donnerstage an der Tür des Brautzimmers ein Krug voll Getreide zerschlagen, mit der symbolischen Bedeutung, dass die Braut fruchtbar sein möge." Mr. Crooke (*Things Indian* [London, 1906], p. 319) says that rice or wheat is poured over the heads of the pair with the object "to annul the influences which would prevent the fertility of the union"; but he also observes (*Popular Religion and Folk-Lore in Northern India*, ii. 26) that one object of this rite "would seem to be to keep in the soul which is likely to depart at such a crisis in life as marriage." Dr. Samter (*op. cit.* p. 2), again, remarks that in Greece dried fruits were thrown not only over a bride but over a newly bought slave as well, and that the custom in question, therefore, must have had another object than that of ensuring fecundity. He suggests that it was originally meant as a food-offering to spirits which required propitiation (*ibid.* p. 7 *sq.*;

one tribe supposed to increase the food-supply for the married couple and also to benefit others, who pick up what falls on the ground and use it to impart the bride's *baraka* to their corn; whereas in another tribe this custom is looked upon as a method of averting the evil eye from the bride.[1] Sometimes the raisins, figs, or dates are said to bring good luck, or to make everything sweet, or to make the bride sweet to the bridegroom's family; and the *ʿrīd*, barley, or wheat which is offered her and then thrown by her on the people is said to give them the benefit of her *baraka* or to make the year good. But in two instances the wheat, flour, *sĕksu*, or *tšîša* which she throws over her head is represented as a means by which she rids herself of evil influences, and in one instance the dried fruit which she throws on the people is said to remove *bạs* from those who partake of it. The offering of henna to the bride on her arrival at her new home no doubt serves a purificatory object, and this may also be the case with the bridegroom's attempt to strike her with a cane, though it has the appearance of a ceremony by which he tries to get power over her.[2] It is for the express purpose of

Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod* [Leipzig & Berlin, 1911], p. 172 *sqq.*); and the same opinion has been expressed by M. Reinach (*Cultes, mythes et religions*, i. [Paris, 1905], p. 117) and Herr Sartori (*Sitte und Brauch*, i. [Leipzig, 1910], p. 91). This explanation gains no support from Moorish ideas. Professor Schroeder (*op. cit.* p. 210 n.[1]) thinks it probable that the Jews have borrowed the custom from Indo-Europeans, as it is not known to have prevailed among the ancient Hebrews; and the same may have been the case with the people of Northern Africa.

[1] In Palestine (Lydia Einszler, 'Das böse Auge,' in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, xii. [1889], p. 208) and Syria (van Kasteren, "Aus dem 'Buche der Weiber,'" *ibid.* xviii. [1895], p. 49) the throwing of grain and salt at a wedding is likewise looked upon as a charm against the evil eye.

[2] "It is said that as a Druze bride enters her husband's door he gives her a smart

expelling evil that the bride beats the bridegroom's tent; and to the same class of ceremonies seems to belong the short religious rite she performs while still on the animal, nothing being more purifying than prayer. There is, moreover, the quivering noise of women, loud music, and the firing off of guns,[1] the purificatory or protective character of which is particularly obvious when it is done so close to the bride that she is enwrapped in the smoke or when a shot is fired inside the room which she is going to occupy. In one instance the shots are said to prevent her evil influences from affecting the *islān*.

The animal which the bride has ridden must also be purified in some way or other: a boy rides on it three times round the house, or the bride wipes the finger which she has dipped in the milk offered her on the mane of the mule, or the bridegroom's mother throws an egg, which she has dipped into milk and flour at its forehead, partly, I presume, to purify the mule,[2] or the

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blow with a stick, to show that she is under his rule and authority" (Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 114). Among the Maronites the bridegroom, standing on the flat roof of the house over the door, holds a sword above the head of the bride (Conder, *op. cit.* p. 293). Among the Algerian Berbers already referred to, after the bride has thrown grain and salt over her shoulders, "le mari s'approche, à son tour, et lui tire, à hauteur de la tête et presque à bout portant, un coup de fusil ou de pistolet qui, parfois, met le feu à sa coiffure. Cette grossière galanterie est le prélude de l'assujettissement de la femme, elle l'avertit que son mari est désormais le maître absolu de son existence" (Féraud, *loc. cit.* p. 431).

[1] Among the Touareg of the Ahnet, at the moment when the bridal procession arrives at the bridegroom's tent, "on tire quelques coups de fusil" (Bissuel, *Les Touareg de l'ouest* [Alger, 1888], p. 105).

[2] In Andjra it is also the custom that, when a person buys a horse, mule, or donkey, he breaks an egg against its forehead; besides which he puts a dollar-piece or some other silver object on the ground and makes the animal walk over it. In the Ḥiâina, when a horse is bought, an egg is likewise broken against its forehead, and some white wool is tied to its right foreleg. Among the Igliwa a newly bought horse or mule is taken over a bowl of milk which has been placed on the threshold

bride gives the animal barley or *sĕksu* to eat, throwing the rest in its face or over its head. The object of the last-mentioned ceremony is sometimes said to be to remove from the mare evil influences which would otherwise cause its death or barrenness, sometimes to make the corn plentiful in the household, and sometimes both to make the year good and the mare fruitful; but I think we have reason to believe that, whatever ideas may now be connected with this ceremony, it was first suggested by a feeling that the animal with which the bride had been in so close a contact was in need of purification. It is for a similar reason that the saddle is sometimes smeared with henna or blood.

The custom of taking the bride into the bridegroom's house behind a cover of blankets may, like her veiled face, be intended to protect the people from her dangerous glance, at the same time as it shelters her from their looks; as said before, she is both a source of danger to others and in a state of danger herself. For the latter reason she must be carried to the nuptial bed or across the threshold,[1] which

of the house or on some flour strewn on it. It was pointed out to me that the good effects of the egg, wool, milk, and flour are due to their whiteness and, in the case of the wool, to its *baraka* also, which it possesses as coming from a holy animal.

[1] In Palestine "a bride is often carried over the threshold that her feet may not touch it, to do so being considered unlucky" (Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 114); and in Cairo the bridegroom, who meets the bride when she arrives before the gate of his dwelling, "suddenly clasps her in his arms as if by violence, and running off with his fair prize carries her into the females' apartments up stairs (Burckhardt, *Arabic Proverbs* [London, 1830], p. 116). The custom of carrying a bride over the threshold has prevailed in Rome (Rossbach, *op. cit.* pp. 351, 359 *sqq.*) and many other countries both in Europe and elsewhere (v. Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 88 *sqq.*; Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant* [New York, 1896], p. 36 *sqq.*; Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 136 *sqq.*). In ancient India a bride was not allowed to step on the threshold (Winternitz, *loc. cit.* pp. 23, 72).

is considered haunted by *jnūn*, presumably on account of that uncanny feeling which superstitious people are apt to experience when they first enter a dwelling;[1] although the carrying of the bride into her new home may, at the same time, be a ceremonial expression of the reluctance which a virgin pretends to feel against being given away in marriage.[2] Owing to her

[1] In Morocco nobody is allowed to sit down on the threshold of a house or at the entrance of a tent; should a person do so he would get ill himself or give *bqs* to the house. So also it would be unlucky for the house and its inhabitants if anybody should pull up the backs of his slippers on the threshold. Chenier (*The Present State of the Empire of Morocco*, i. [London, 1788], p. 277) says that when the bride enters the bridegroom's house, her relatives carefully observe that "she shall not touch the threshold of the door." Dr. Samter (*Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 140 *sqq.*), following Dr. Winternitz (*loc. cit.* p. 72), maintains that the threshold is feared because it is believed to be haunted by the souls of dead people, and thinks that this belief may have originated in an earlier custom of burying the dead underneath the threshold, although he can adduce no evidence for this supposition. The Moorish *jnūn*, however, are not the souls of departed men, nor can it be proved that the ancient Arabic *jinn* were souls. They seem to have been beings invented to explain or personify the mysteries of nature (see Westermarck, 'The Nature of the Arab *Ginn*, illustrated by the Present Beliefs of the People of Morocco,' in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxix. [1900], p. 252 *sqq.*); and as for the *jnūn* haunting the threshold, I have little doubt that they simply owe their origin to that uncanny feeling mentioned in the text.

[2] *Cf.* Crawley, *The Mystic Rose* (1902), p. 350 *sqq.* In Turkey, when the bride arrives at the bridegroom's house, "she is expected, for the sake of appearances, to show great reluctance to enter" (Hutchinson, *Marriage Customs in Many Lands* [London, 1897], p. 79). With reference to the ancient Romans, Plutarch (*op. cit.* 29) writes: —"Why do they not permit the new married woman herself to step over the threshold of the house, but the bridemen lift her over? What if the reason be that they, taking their first wives by force, brought them thus into their houses, when they went not in of their own accord? Or is it that they will have them seem to enter into that place as by force, not willingly, where they are about to lose their virginity?" Many modern writers have likewise tried to explain this custom as a survival of marriage by capture, *e.g.* Rossbach (*op. cit.* p. 360), Lord Avebury (*The Origin of Civilisation* [London, 1912], p. 102), Schroeder (*op. cit.* p. 92), and Jevons (in his edition of Plutarch's *Romane Questions* [London, 1892], p. xcv. *sq.*); but without success (*cf.* Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 137 *sq.*; Zachariae, 'Zum altindischen Hochzeitsritual,' in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, xvii. [1903], p. 140 *sqq.*). In many cases the man who carries the bride over the threshold is neither the bridegroom nor any of his friends, but a man of her own family (*cf.* Crooke, 'The Lifting of the Bride,' in *Folk-Lore*, xiii. (1902), p. 239); and side by side with the custom of lifting the bride, there is the custom which simply requires her to avoid stepping

dangerous condition the bride must be silent,[1] or only speak in a whisper, and avoid being seen eating; and in one instance the man who carries her to her bed pricks it with his dagger to make it safe for her.

Besides ceremonies which, though probably purificatory in their origin, are looked upon as means of positively promoting the welfare of individuals, the family, or the whole community, there are others which no doubt from the beginning have been practised with such objects in view. The bride hurls a lamb over the bridegroom's tent so that there shall be many sheep in the village. She smears the horizontal pole of the tent with butter so that there shall be an abundance of butter or "grease" in the household.[2] She is taken

upon the threshold. Equally unsatisfactory is Zachariae's suggestion (*loc. cit.* p. 142 *sq.*) that the chief feature of the ceremony is the lifting-up of the bride, not her avoidance of touching the threshold with her feet. "Das Heben an sich," he says, "war augenscheinlich eine feierliche, bedeutsame Handlung. Personen, die man feiern oder ehren wollte, wurden in die Höhe gehoben: so bei der Hochzeit die Braut und . . . auch der Bräutigam." This may apply to some other ceremonies mentioned above, but does not explain why the bride is carried *over the threshold* (*cf.* Samter, *op. cit.* p. 138 *sqq.*). The Roman custom of lifting a bride over the threshold has been said to serve the object of preventing the bad omen which would be caused by her stumbling on it (Preller, *Römische Mythologie* [Berlin, 1865], p. 585). According to Mr. Crooke (*loc. cit.* p. 242), "the lifting over the threshold may . . . be in some cases a fertility charm; in others it may have been intended to protect the bride from some contamination, or to avoid ill-luck."

[1] *Cf. Customs and Manners of the Women of Persia*, translated by Atkinson (London, 1832), p. 70:—"The bride herself must not speak to any one." See also Crawley, *op. cit.* p. 342.

[2] In Algeria, says M. Villot (*Mœurs, coutumes et institutions des indigènes de l'Algérie* [Alger, 1888], p. 105), "la jeune épouse est amenée jusque sur le seuil de sa nouvelle demeure; la belle-mère l'y reçoit et lui tend un pot de beurre. La jeune fille y plonge la main et, après l'en avoir retirée, elle enduit de beurre les montants de la tente. Cette cérémonie, dont l'origine se perd dans la nuit des temps, a pour but de faire descendre la bénédiction du ciel sur le jeune ménage." In Palestine, again, "when the bride comes to her husband's house, she has, before entering, to place a piece of leavened dough on the doorpost. This act is a wish that as the leaven placed in a mass of dough increases till the whole of the mass is

to the four corners of the tent as representing the "thresholds" of boys, of sheep and cattle, of safety and quietness, and of cheapness. Other ceremonies are performed by her or her mother-in-law to make her fruitful[1] and, particularly, a mother of sons; to make the two women friendly to one another;[2] to make the bride a good wife; to make her permanent in the house; or to make her fond of the cattle. In this connection we should also remember the belief mentioned in the last chapter, that it is a good omen for the people of her new home if she arrives there at the same time as the flocks and herds return from the pastures.[3]

leavened, so she may have a numerous family, and by her the clan may grow and be increased" (Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 114). The same custom is mentioned by Abēla, 'Beiträge zur Kenntniss abergläubischer Gebräuche in Syrien,' in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, vii. (1884), p. 93; Conder, *op. cit.* p. 293 (Maronites); Trumbull, *op. cit.* p. 28 *sq.* (Upper Syria); Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* (Paris, 1908), p. 54. In Rome the bride anointed the door-posts of the bridegroom's house with grease or oil and hung wool on them (Rossbach, *op. cit.* pp. 351, 356 *sqq.*; Samter, *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer*, p. 80). For the use made of wool in magical practices in Morocco, see *supra*, p. 218 *sq.* n. 2; *infra*, p. 261. Among the Jews of Morocco the bridegroom dips some cotton-wool in a mixture of honey and henna and then fixes it together with a silver coin on the head of the bride, "als Zeichen ihres künftigen Wohlbefindens und Gedeihens" (Jansen, *loc. cit.* p. 360).

[1] "A Kérak et à Mādabā, lorsque l'épouse entre pour la première fois dans la maison de son époux, on écrase une grenade dont on disperse les grains pour figurer les nombreux enfants attendus de ce mariage" (Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 54). Eijūb Abēla (*loc. cit.* p. 93) gives the following description of the manner in which a Syrian bride is received:—"Wenn die Braut bei der Thüre des Hauses ihres Bräutigams anlangt, giebt man ihr ein Stück Sauerteig, damit sie es über der Thüre befestige. Auch legt man auf die Schwelle einen Granatapfel, auf welchen sie treten muss, so dass die Körner auseinanderstieben. Dadurch gewinnt man die Überzeugung, dass sie mit der Familie des Mannes in gutem Einvernehmen leben und viele Kinder bekommen werde."

[2] At Aleppo, as soon as the bride has arrived at the bridegroom's house, his mother "rompt en deux avec elle une grosse pastille de sucre, et ayant à la main un morceau de candi, elle le lui met dans la bouche *pour qu'elle ait le parler doux* avec sa belle-mère" (Guys, *Un Dervich algérien en Syrie* [Paris, 1854], p. 202).

[3] Among the Touareg of the Ahnet, on the other hand, "la marche est calculée de manière à ce que le cortège arrive à la tente du mari à l'instant du dohor" (*duhr*), *i.e.* at 1.30 P.M. (Bissuel, *op. cit.* p. 105).

The bride is generally lifted into the bridegroom's house or tent by the same man as previously put her on the animal, but sometimes it is the bridegroom's brother or cousin that takes her in although it was her own brother or cousin that mounted her. In one case, where a woman of her kin has lifted her into the bridal box, and her brother has lifted her out of it, a woman of the bridegroom's family carries her into his house; and in another case the bridegroom himself puts her down on the bed after her brother or uncle has carried her into his room.[1] There is a ceremonial fight between these two men, and the bridegroom is besides attacked by the women. In other instances the bridegroom and friends of his who are dressed like him are struck by the men and women of the bride's village, including the bride herself, who thereby hopes to become his master; or the bridegroom tries to strike the bride; or the men of the procession rob the bridegroom's mother and sisters and the *imsnein* of their headgears and the bride of her slippers; or the bachelors and other young men try to take something from the bride, who is defended by the other women and the *imsnein*; or the women curse both her and the bridegroom's father, as if the marriage were an offence against their sex; and in one instance the bride's brother refuses to proceed to the door of the bridegroom's house.[2] In

[1] *Cf.* Féraud, *loc. cit.* p. 431 (some Algerian Berbers).

[2] Among the Touareg of the Ahaggar, at some yards' distance from the bridegroom's tent "le fils de la tante maternelle de la mariée s'avance et veut retenir la mariée, en lui disant: 'Je ne te laisserai pas partir avant d'avoir reçu mon cadeau, mes sandales.' . . . Le marié ou ses amis lui font alors passer une paire de sandales mises de côté à son intention ou, à défaut, un autre cadeau" (Benhazera, *op. cit.*

these customs we find a ceremonial expression of the antagonism between different social groups represented at a wedding, and of the husband's and wife's desire to rule over one another. But at the same time it seems quite probable that they have a purificatory significance as well, as is the case with sham-fights on various other occasions in Morocco.

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p. 17). Among the Arabs of Moab, if the bride is brought from a neighbouring tribe, a curious scene takes place when the procession approaches a camp in the bridegroom's tribe :—"Les femmes du campement se réunissent, poussent des cris, ramassent des pierres, les jettent sur la fiancée, font accroupir son chameau, la traînent par terre, se mettent à la frapper ; le sang coule ; mais les hommes ne tardent pas à mettre un terme à ce combat féminin. La même scène se renouvelle, paraît-il, chaque fois que le cortège doit passer auprès d'un campement, avant d'arriver à celui du fiancé. Les femmes de la tribu ne veulent point recevoir cette étrangère, dont l'arrivée paraît être une insulte à leur beauté ou à leurs attraits" (Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 53).

CHAPTER VII

THE MEETING OF THE BRIDE AND BRIDEGROOM AND THE MORNING AFTER

We shall return to the bridegroom at Fez, whom we left in *dăr ĭslān* when we accompanied the bride to *dăr l-ʿörs*.

On their arrival at *dăr ĭslān* the *ngâgef*, sent there by the bridegroom's mother, remove his clothes and put on him the new ones which they have brought with them; being black women they have no shame in doing so. On this occasion, however, the white *farajîya*, which is otherwise worn over the coloured *qáftān*,[1] is omitted, and he has no belt (*ḥăzâm*) put round him. With his *ksa* pulled over his face he walks to his house surrounded by the *ngâgef* and followed by his male friends. When they arrive at the door the *ngâgef* make a quivering noise as a signal to the women inside to go upstairs. On entering the house his friends remain in its centre while he himself and the *ngâgef* proceed into the nuptial chamber, where he mounts one of the lower steps of a ladder leaning against the pile of

[1] Whilst the *qáftān* is buttoned all down the front, the *farajîya* is only buttoned from neck to waist.

mattresses opposite the entrance. A *nggâfa* with a wax candle in her hand stands on either side of him, while the other *ngâgef* stop near the door. One of the latter holds in her hand an empty bowl, another a bowl with milk, and a third a bowl containing dates. The men come one by one and put into the empty vessel some money, which is taken by the *ngâgef*; the second *nggâfa* gives the donor some milk to drink, and the third one hands to him a date to eat. While this is going on the *ngâgef* sing :

Allâh m'a ṣḥāb lă-'rûs,
May God be with the bridegroom's friends ;

and the women upstairs make a quivering noise. When all the men present have thus given their tribute and been rewarded with some milk and a date, they go back to *dar îslān* and the women come down again. The bridegroom gets off the ladder and enters the *dăḫšûša* accompanied by a *nggâfa*, who takes off his *ḥâyĕk* and removes the bride's ornaments, putting the latter in a box standing in the *dăḫšûša*. After she has locked the box and given the key to the bride, she goes away and closes the door, leaving the bride and bridegroom alone. The other *ngâgef* have already left the room.

The bridegroom now passes a while with the bride. Before they part she gives him two cotton kerchiefs (*drer*, sing. *dĕrra*) embroidered with silk, one of which he ties round his waist as a belt, using the other as a handkerchief, and a *t'ĕkka*, or cord for keeping up the trousers, with embroidered and fringed ends to hang

down in front; and it is the custom that the bride herself should thread this cord through the trousers. The bridegroom then goes alone to *dăr islān*, after which one of the *ngâgef*, the so-called *gellâsa*, enters the room and sits down near the door to attend on the bride.

In the morning a band of *ṭabbâlin*, some of whom are playing drums (*ṭabbâlin* in the restricted sense of the word) and others (so-called *ġaiyâṭin*) oboes, come to *dăr l-ʿörs*. When their music is heard at *dăr islān* the bridegroom and all his friends go to join them. They enter the house, the bridegroom sits down in the nuptial chamber on a mattress opposite the door, the *ġaiyâṭin* also seat themselves inside the room near the door, while the *ṭabbâlin* remain standing in the centre of the house. The musicians with their music *iṣâbbḥû ʿal lă-ʿrîs*, that is, wish a good morning to the bridegroom. While they are playing all the men, including the bridegroom, pay a fee to the band by placing silver coins on the forehead of the chief of the *ġaiyâṭin*, after which the musicians go away and the bridegroom and his friends return to *dăr islān*. But about eight o'clock the *gellâsa* comes to fetch him for his breakfast, which he has together with the bride in the *dăḫšûša*; his friends, on the other hand, are served with breakfast in *dăr islān*, and thither he returns himself after a while. On the morning of this day, which is called *nhăr ṣ-ṣbaḥ*, "the day of the morning," he no longer has his face covered.

It should be added that if he has had intercourse during the night—which is by no means always the

case—he goes in the early morning to the hot bath, accompanied by his friends from *dăr ḥslān*; and on his way back he buys a large quantity of *fâkya* (dried fruit), fills a *ṭâifor* with it, and sends it, covered up with a *mkeb*, to the house of the bride's parents, distributing the rest of the *fâkya* to the bride and *ḥṭâṭar* in his own house. The *fâkya* indicates that the bride was a virgin. A *nggâfa* takes her drawers, folds them so as to show the blood, and ties them up in a *sĕbnîya*, or silk kerchief, with golden embroidery; she then carries the bundle on the top of her head to the middle of the house, where she puts it down on a cushion near the door of the nuptial chamber, and opens it so that the blood becomes visible. A quivering noise is made by all the women present, who one after the other put money on the top of the drawers. When this ceremony, which is called *s-sărwạl*, "the drawers," is finished, the money is removed and kept by the *ngâgef* as their fee, the drawers are again tied up, and the *nggâfa*, accompanied by other *ngâgef*, carries the bundle on the top of her head to the house of the bride's family, where her female relatives are still assembled. When the *ngâgef* arrive at the door of the house they make a quivering noise to advertise the event, though their arrival was foreboded by the *fâkya* sent in advance. After they have been entertained with tea and food, they exhibit the drawers on a cushion placed in the middle of the house, all the women make a quivering noise, and the *ḥṭâṭar* put money on the top of the drawers. The *ngâgef* then return to *dăr l-'ŭrs*, leaving the drawers

behind to be washed with other clothes, and the *ḥṭâṭar* go away for good, the feast in the house of the bride's family having now come to an end. As already indicated, these ceremonies with the drawers do not necessarily take place on the day after the bride was fetched, but on the day after the first intercourse and the appearance of hymeneal blood, and the *ḥṭâṭar* remain in the house of the bride's parents till the drawers are sent there, but only if they appear within seven days; after the lapse of this period the *ḥṭâṭar* go away in any case.

If the bride is found not to be a virgin the wedding may come to a sudden end, the *ṣdaq* being returned, as also the clothing which the young man sent to his *fiancée*. But it may also happen that the bride's parents, in order to avoid a scandal, bribe the bridegroom to conceal the fact for the present, in which case the blood of a fowl or pigeon is used as a substitute for the lacking signs of virginity. If the bridegroom accuses the bride of not being a virgin, her parents send an aunt of hers to ask her if the accusation is true. If she denies it and her parents believe her, they send two *qwâ̱bel*, or professional midwives, and two *ʿâdûl*, or notaries, to the bridegroom's house, the former to examine the bride and the latter to write down the result. If the bridegroom was wrong her parents accuse him before the governor, who orders him to be flogged and put into prison, and in former days he was besides taken about in the streets of the town with his hands tied behind his back. When he then comes out of prison and breaks the hymen of his wife, a *nggâfa*,

accompanied by male musicians, takes the blood-stained drawers on her head to the house of the wife's family, where a feast is celebrated on this occasion.

In his description of a wedding at Fez four hundred years ago Leo Africanus gives the following account of the meeting of bride and bridegroom :

"The father, brother, and vncle of the bride lead her vnto the chamber-doore, and there deliver her with one consent vnto the mother of the bridegroome : who, as soon as she is entered, toucheth her foote with his, and foorthwith they depart into a generall roome by themselues. In the meane season the banket is comming foorth : and a certaine woman standeth before the bride-chamber doore, expecting till the bridegroome hauing defloured his bride reacheth her a napkin stained with blood, which napkin she carrieth incontinent and sheweth to the guestes, proclaiming with a lowd voice, that the bride was euer till that time a vnspotted and pure virgine. This woman together with other women her companions, first the parents of the bridegroome and then of the bride doe honourably entertaine. But if the bride be found not to be a virgine, the mariage is made frustrate, and she with great disgrace is turned home to her parents." [1]

In Andjra, after the bridegroom and *wazâra* have performed their evening prayer, the latter take him to the room where the bride is waiting. They all get up and walk with flags and candles to the door of the room. The *ḥâjeb*, or best-man, calls for the bridegroom's parents, who come out, the mother still carrying the bundle of clothes on her back. He tells the bridegroom to kiss their heads. The mother puts down the bundle, containing her son's shaved-off

[1] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, ii. (London, 1896), p. 450.

hair, and asks the *ḥâjeb* to tell him to step three times over it; this is done in order to prevent the working of magic on him by any one who may have got hold of some hairs when he was shaved. The *ḥâjeb* says to the parents:—*Árḍiu ʿåla wĭldkum*, "Bless your son." He then throws the carpet, cushion, and flags into the room through the doorway, which is only closed by a curtain.

The bridegroom enters the room, which is lighted up with four candles, and shuts the door behind him; but he must take care not to turn his head back, as otherwise evil spirits may enter with him. He takes off his *ḥâyĕk*, turns his face towards the East, and says a prayer. He eats of the food, consisting of two chickens, eggs, thin cakes of bread called *rġaif*, and dried fruit, which was brought from the bride's house and placed by her *ḥaddâyĭn* on a low table in the room. He addresses the bride, who is sitting behind a curtain, with the words:—*Ā ḍik lulîya, lâzem tʿâkul mʿâyạ*, "O lady, you must eat with me." As she gives no answer he pulls back the curtain and sees his bride, perhaps for the first time in his life. He puts into her mouth a piece of *rġaif*, which she eats with downcast eyes. He then puts into her mouth a date with the stone removed, a raisin, a small piece of fowl, a piece of a walnut, a piece of a fig, and a small piece of an egg. He takes a new bottle filled with water and a new bowl, brought there among other articles from the bride's house, goes to the four corners of the room and sprinkles a little water in each corner, takes hold of the

bride's hands, first one and then the other, and dips the tips of her fingers into the water which he has poured out into the bowl. He drinks from the bowl and then holds it for the bride to drink from; it is necessary that he should drink first, in order to become her master. Touching her temples with the thumb and middle finger of his right hand he recites the "*sûra* of the *ʿjinn*," and, still keeping his hand in the same position, adds some words like these:—"O lady, may God bless you and me and our house, may he give us children, and may he give us peace, and may he give us herds and flocks; there is no god but God, and Muḥammed is the Prophet of God." He undresses himself completely, takes hold of the bride, and removes her clothes. He has to untie seven knots made by her *ḥaddâyîn* in the cord (*ṭ̣ḳka*) of her drawers; should he omit doing so, he would have to pay a fine to them.

Before he has intercourse with the bride he puts his own and her slippers under her in the bed to serve as evidence of her virginity. Should no blood appear he would at once go and tell his mother about it, and the bride would be sent back to her parents; but let us assume that she is a virgin. The slippers are removed from the bed and the bride is left there to sleep. The bridegroom has a wash, called *l-ûḍû ṣ-ṣġēr*, "the little ablution," dresses, prays, and then has a short sleep on the ground. After awakening he has a second wash, *l-ûḍû l-kbīr*, "the great ablution," sits down, and recites a *sûra* of the Koran. At daybreak some of the

wazâra knock at the door asking him to make himself ready. The bride's *ḥaddâyĭn*, who have spent the night in a neighbouring room, tell them to wait a little, enter the room of the young couple, examine their slippers, make a quivering noise, and kiss the bridegroom's head, congratulating him with the usual phrase, *Hnîya 'ălik*. When the *wazâra* hear the quivering noise they fire off some shots. The *ḥaddâyĭn* take out to them four palmetto trays (*ġrâbel*, sing. *ġărbāl*), filled respectively with *rġaif*, ordinary bread, raisins and walnuts, and figs and dates, all of which have been sent by the bride's family. The *wazâra* knock once more at the door, informing the bridegroom that they are ready. He comes out well covered up and with his eyes painted with antimony, after which the *ḥaddâyĭn* again enter the room and receive the money which he has put in one of the bride's slippers as a present for them.

He now goes to the mosque with the *wazâra*, who are carrying the trays given to them by the *ḥaddâyĭn*. He is received by the *fqī*, who kisses him on the head, saying, *Hnîya 'ălik*, "My congratulation to you"; and the same is done by the *wazâra*, who address him *sîḏna*, "our lord." The *'drab* also come one by one and kiss him on the head, saying, *Hnîya 'ălik a ṣ-ṣŭltan*, "My congratulation to you, O Sultan"; but they have only been allowed to enter after they have had their hands tied behind their backs. They then leave the room but enter once more and this time all together, with their hands untied, for the purpose of robbing the Sultan of

his slippers and turban and other articles of his dress and carrying away the flags. A struggle commences between them and the *wazâra*; if the latter are victorious the *'drab* are tied and punished with sticks before the Sultan, and are only set free after they have asked for pardon. The *wazâra*, the *fqī* and school-boys, and the *'drab* sit down and eat in three separate groups, whereas the Sultan partakes of nothing, sitting silent with downcast eyes. One of the *wazâra* brings a pail of water, and, after an ablution, the Sultan and others say the *ḍhā* prayer.

Meanwhile the musicians strike up a morning serenade at the bridegroom's house, where the bride is sitting with her *ḥaddâyĭn* and other women of her family. The bridegroom and the *wazâra* go there and sit down on a carpet in the yard. The *ḥâjeb* comes and distributes silver coins to them, a peseta to the Sultan and a *bĭlyūn* to each of the *wazâra*—money which was all previously handed to him by the Sultan. The latter gets up and gives his coin to one of the musicians, and the *wazâra* follow his example; this is *l-ġrâma ḍel-ġaiyâḍa*, after which follows *l-ġrâma ḍeṣ-ṣŭlṭan*, the men from among the young couple's relatives presenting the bridegroom with silver money, varying from a *bĭlyūn* to a few dollars. At this ceremony there is nobody who cries out the donor's name and the sum given by him, as the bridegroom now himself can see everything going on. One of the bride's *ḥaddâyĭn* comes out with a fine towel (*fûṭa*) worth about a dollar, and hangs it on the shoulder of the

chief of the *ṭabbâla*; this is the bride's present to the musicians, who afterwards sell it and divide the money between themselves. The *ḥaddâyĭn* then bring palmetto trays filled with various kinds of food from the bride's trunk and give one tray to the musicians, four to the Sultan and his *wazâra*, one to the schoolboys, and three to the *'árab*. The musicians take their food to their room, the Sultan and *wazâra* go with theirs to the mosque, and the schoolboys and *'árab* eat theirs in the yard.

Among the Tsūl, when the bride hears the bridegroom coming, she takes her right slipper in her hand and waves it seven times towards the door, in order that she shall rule over him. When he enters he cuts the rope supporting the curtain which hides the bride, and goes, without saying a word, to the bed where she is sitting. She kisses his hand. He removes the cover from her head, crushes its cane-work and throws it on the floor, thus destroying the *bạs*, and taps her seven times on her head with the flat of his sword, so as to become her master. Only then does he begin to speak to her, and burns various kinds of incense to drive away evil spirits. If she makes resistance and he is not strong enough to overcome her, he calls for his *uzîr*, or best-man, who is standing outside the door, ready to step in and help him by tying the bride's wrists together or her arms to her legs. When the bridegroom is resting his head on her arm she may, if she is in love with him, say to herself in an inaudible

voice :—*Farrâšt lek l-hăbâr u ġaṭṭîtˢek be l-hăbâr, drûmni mâ ram l-mîyeṭˢ l-qbar ; qâuletˢ allâh u qâuletˢ r-rsûl u qâuletˢ lâlla Faṭîma bentˢ l-mkūn jebbâdětˢ s-sḥōr men sébʿa bḥōr*, "I have made you a bed with [my] flesh and I have covered you with [my] flesh, may you be fond of me as the dead is fond of his grave ; the speech of God and the speech of the Prophet and the speech of Lady Faṭîma, the daughter of the [holy] places, who took charms from seven seas."

When the bridegroom leaves the room the *uzîr* fires two shots, and the women of the village assemble there. If they find blood on the bride's chemise (*manṣōrîya*), which is on this occasion styled *sârwal*, "drawers," they make a quivering noise and dance in the room, the bride's sister with the chemise on the top of her head. It is then hung up in the yard so that all the people shall see the marks of virginity. Should there be no such marks the bridegroom's family would exclaim, *Ddi kélbʿăk ʿălîya*, "Take away from me your bitch" ; and the bride's father or, in his absence, her brother would shoot her dead in the room or in the yard, besides which all the money and presents given would be returned. But it very rarely happens that a bride is found not to be a virgin. In the morning the bride's mother sends to the bridegroom's family a dish of *sěksu* and meat, called *l-ġâʿa děṣ-ṣvâḥ*, "the dish of the morning," to be eaten by them alone.

In the Ḥiâina the bridegroom, accompanied by the *islạn*, goes to the door of the house in which the bride

is waiting. He is there left alone by his friends, and enters the house. He cuts with his sword the rope which has been tied from wall to wall in front of the bed; this is to cut off the *bạs*. He gently slaps the bride on her forehead and shoulders with the flat of his sword, so as to expel evil spirits. He takes off her right slipper, removes the needle which her mother has put into it as a protection against *jnūn*, and throws it away, at the same time throwing away the *bạs*, and then puts the slipper back on her foot. He plaits the hair on the right side of her head, opens her *manṣōrîya* or *qåfṭan*, takes hold of her, and pulls her up to stand. She now removes his slippers; there was said to be some magic in this, perhaps the bridegroom thereby hopes to become master. He gives her some money, which is called *ḥållăn lă-ḥzậm*, "the opening of the girdle"; but this is only a figurative expression as she has no girdle on her. They partake of some figs and *bůšiyạr* from the *mẻzwud* brought from the bride's house, and some incense is burned as a safeguard against *jnūn*. I was told that, if the bride remains long alone before the bridegroom enters the room so that she dozes and is then awakened and frightened by the noise he makes, she may be struck by *jnūn* and get a distorted face or lose her senses.

When the bridegroom is gone, his and the bride's mother, together with other women, enter the room and make a quivering noise when they see the stains of blood, whilst the men outside fire off their guns. The *mẻzwud* is taken out of the room and the *ịslạn*

have a fight about it with the unmarried women, the victorious party eating its contents. The bride's mother entertains the people with *ṭa'âm* (*sěksu*). This morning is called *ṣbaḥ bûšiyạr*, "the morning of *bûšiyạr*."

Among the Ulâd Bu-'Azîz, the bridegroom, after being smeared with henna, quietly goes behind the curtain in the tent where the bride is sitting, and takes her with him to a *nwậla*, or straw-hut, to have connection with her, or, in default of a straw-hut, has connection with her in the tent or on the waste land outside the village; but in any case they part before daybreak. As we have noticed, however, they already had intercourse the previous evening with ceremonies similar to those which in other tribes take place at the meeting of the bride and bridegroom after she has been brought to her new home.

In the morning men of the bride's village kill the fowls sent the day before by her mother, while the women from her village make *bûšiyār* of flour from the wheat belonging to the *dhāz*, together with salt butter. These cakes, thin like wafers, are torn into pieces, the gravy of the boiled chickens and melted butter are poured over them, onions are added, and then chickens are laid on the top. This dish, which is called *rfệsa*, is served about midday, and is partaken of by the people from both the bride's and bridegroom's villages, the men having their meal in the mosque or in a large tent, and the women

afterwards in the bridegroom's tent. After finishing this meal, which is called *lĕ-mmúdda dyālt l-mra* ("the time of the woman"), all the men put some money in the empty dish, the bachelors giving more than the married men, and the bridegroom taking the lead with the most liberal gift — a dollar or two; he also partook of the meal, with the hood of his cloak drawn over his face. *Fâṭḥa* is made, and the men with the exception of the bridegroom and his unmarried friends go away. The money just referred to is taken by the mother of the bride.

Among the Aiṭ Sáddĕn the bride and bridegroom meet some time in the night between the hour for the evening prayer and daybreak. When one of them has arrived in the room, the *imsnéin* go and fetch the other partner and remain themselves outside the entrance with the door shut, if there is a door, ready to come in and tie up the bride in case she makes difficulties and the bridegroom calls for them. Before the connection the bridegroom gives to the bride a small sum of money, from half-a-dollar to two dollars, which is called *ţiruyi n-úḥăzzạm*, corresponding to the Arabic *ḥăllän lă-ḥzậm*. He removes the sword which he is carrying, but both he and the bride keep on their slippers not only that night but for seven days and nights.

Very early in the morning, before sunrise, the bride's chemise is exhibited on the roof of the house by her mother or sister or the bridegroom's mother.

There is always blood on it, because, if the bridegroom suspects his bride of not being a virgin, or from his own experience knows that she is not so, he has a cock ready to kill, and then, if necessary, smears her chemise with its blood; I was told that it never happens that a bride is sent away on account of lost virginity. A man of the bridegroom's household or some bachelor fires off his gun once outside the house, and the bridegroom's mother or some other woman of his family makes three *ṯiġŭrâṯin*. The women and other people, who assemble outside the house, take down the chemise from the roof, put it in the yard or inside the tent, and sing and dance round it, the men playing on tambourines. The dancing women are then entertained with breakfast consisting of *ṯṯă'âm* (*sĕksu*) with butter (*ṯismmit*) or *ṯṯă'âm* with meat. This breakfast is called *ṣṣbaḥ n-tslit*, "the morning of the bride."

Among the Aiṯ Yúsi the bride late in the evening walks with the *imsnein* from the tent where she has been sitting, either to another tent or to a lonely spot outside the village to meet the bridegroom. Here also the *imsnein* assist the latter, if he is in need of help, and subsequently take the bride back to the tent from which they came. There they and the bride together partake of a dish called *úgᵘnu*, which consists of roasted wheat, pounded and mixed with melted butter. This dish, which has been prepared by the bridegroom's mother, is eaten by them under

the cover of a woman's mantle (*ṭaḥĕddunṯ*), and the same spoon is used by the bride and the *imsnein*, who may be as many as four, although in the case of a poor man's wedding there may be a single *amsnăi* only.

It may also be, however, that the couple do not meet at all on the night after the bride's arrival. Next day in the afternoon the bridegroom and *imsnein* have a meal together off the so-called *lĕḥḍîṯ n-tslit*, "the present of the bride," consisting of meat and dates, which, covered up with a kerchief belonging to the bride, are taken to them on a palmetto tray (*ámiḍun*) by a procession of men and women amid singing, playing, and dancing. When the bridegroom and *imsnein* have finished their meal, they put some *lĝrâma* on the tray and send it back. The *imsnein* then go away, and another man, of the bridegroom's family, takes the bride to some place outside the village, where she meets her spouse; this distant place is chosen in order that the voice of the bride shall not be heard in case she makes a noise. On this occasion the bridegroom pays her a small sum of money, half-a-dollar or less, which is called *ṭâruyi úḥăzzam*, "the opening of the girdle." After they have had connection she goes back to the tent to spend the rest of the night alone.

The morning after the intercourse a woman who is an expert dancer takes the chemise of the bride stained with blood (the bride's or that of a fowl), puts it on her head, and dances with it before the people of the village, who also begin to dance and sing. The

bridegroom's family entertain all the villagers with *aḥrir*, or porridge made of wheaten meal, which is served and eaten with salt butter; and while eating they smear some of it on each other's faces. The same day the bride paints herself with antimony and walnut root; at the *ṯag^{y}rurṯ* she was painted with henna only, whereas the bridegroom on the day when she was fetched, before her arrival, not only had his hands painted with henna but also his eyes with antimony and his lips with walnut root. It may be added that the bridegroom carries neither sword nor dagger.

Among the Aiṯ Nḏēr the bridegroom enters stealthily the place where the bride is waiting, kicks her lightly, so as to become her ruler, and puts his sword on the bed. If the bride makes resistance and the bridegroom cannot manage her, he calls in his "vizier," who is standing outside ready to come in and tie up her hands. Before they part he makes her a present of a dollar or two out of the money which he received when he was painted with henna; this present is called *lflus n-ṣṣbaḥ*, "the money of the morning" or "hymeneal blood" (the word *ṣṣbaḥ*, "morning," being used to denote such blood). When he goes out, the vizier fires off his gun once or twice at the entrance, and they both retire to the tent from which they came. When the shot is heard the women of the village come and examine the bride's clothes, and if there are stains of blood on them one or two of the women make a quivering noise. Later in the morning they paint

with saffron a line on the bride's forehead and along her nose and spots on her cheeks. As for the stains of blood, it does not matter whether they are genuine or come from a cock killed for the purpose of disguising lost virginity, or even if they are altogether wanting. Among the Aiṭ Nḍēr, as well as among other Bråber, the girls are not noted for their chastity, and it is common for a young man to have intercourse with his *fiancée* even in her father's tent; hence the absence of the marks of virginity in a bride is interpreted as an indication that the bridegroom has previously had intercourse with her, and it is no disgrace for him to keep her. Indeed, it may happen that she is already with child or even a mother at the wedding. Only in rare cases is she sent away, and then she leaves the bridegroom's tent no longer dressed in her bridal costume but in the mat which her father gave her, and both the *ṯa'mamt* and *ṣṣḍaq* paid for her must be returned.

When the bride's mother hears the quivering noise she gets up and makes bread of the flour which she brought with her, being assisted in her work by the women of the tent. With this bread and the butter and dried fruit which she also took with her she entertains the people who now come and salute and congratulate her, and receives money from them in return. This money she gives to her daughter, and goes back home.

Among the Ait Waráin, at the moment when the

bridegroom enters the room or tent, the bride, if she is acquainted with the proper custom and does not feel shy, throws at him one of her slippers in order to get power over him; on the other hand, if she refrains from doing so, he taps her three times on the head or shoulder with his sword, so as to become her master. He hangs his sword on the wall over her head, as a safeguard against *jnūn*. They partake together of a dish of *bâzin*, that is, *sêksu* made of small lumps of flour with milk and salt butter. The bridegroom burns some gum-benjamin (*jâwi mekkâwi*) "to please the spirits of the place," and while this is being done the couple refrain from speaking for fear of the spirits, who are then supposed to be about. He performs an ablution and says two *rek'at*, after which he makes *fâṭḥa*, asking God to bless him with good children; this ceremony is considered so necessary for the production of good offspring that, even though he has never prayed before, he has to learn it for this occasion. Just before he lies down with the bride he gives her a dollar; there is good luck in this present, which is called *âkkäs ŭñ-ústau*, although she has no belt (*astau*) on her. If she makes resistance he calls for the *luzîr*, who is standing outside the door of the room or tent, ready to enter and tie the bride's hands to her legs; indeed, it seems to be the custom that she should be obstinate on this occasion.

Later on in the morning, after the young couple have had connection, they eat together some *târffist;* that is, bread-crumbs kneaded with salt butter; and

it is considered necessary that the bachelors also should subsequently have a share of this dish owing to its *baraka*. When the bridegroom leaves the bride, the *luzîr* comes in again and fires off his gun, after which he goes out, loads it afresh, enters, and fires a second shot. The object of this ceremony was expressly said to shoot the *bạs*, and the shots are two in order to destroy the *bạs* of both the bride and bridegroom. The bridegroom and *luzîr* then go together to the bachelors' room or tent, whilst the bridegroom's mother and a maternal aunt of the bride enter the nuptial apartment and make there a quivering noise. The former places a flag attached to a bamboo cane on the roof of the house or tent, and hangs on the wall the drawers of the bride to flutter in the air; among the Ait Waráin drawers are worn by women on this occasion only. The flag and the drawers, however, are only left there for a little while to serve as an advertisement of the bride's virginity; one of the bachelors soon blows the flag to pieces by a shot from his gun, and two other bachelors do the same with the drawers—a ceremony which was said to destroy the *bạs*. The bride's mother then brings a dish of *sĕksu* to the yard, where a fight ensues between the bachelors and the women, married and unmarried, who hurl at each other stones, earth, slippers, and anything to hand; nay, the defeated party still try to prevent the victors from eating the food by throwing into it the fresh dung of animals. This fight was said to have a beneficial effect. The drawers of the bride are of course only exhibited if

there are stains of blood on them, but here also the blood may be that of a cock. Among the Ait Waráin, as among the Aiṭ Nḍēr, it is very common for a man to have connection with his future wife before marriage, and in such a case she often makes him solemnly promise to marry her. If the bridegroom unexpectedly finds that the bride is not a virgin, he may send her away dressed in an old piece of tent-cloth, or he may keep her on condition that her father returns to him half of the *ṣṣdāq*, but then the father would compel him to swear that he has had no connection with her before the wedding. It may be added that also the bride herself advertises her virginity by dabbing a small spot of blood on either cheek, though even that may be the blood of a cock.

The same morning the *luzîr*, with the assistance of some other men, distribute among the people present the *tûrift* which was brought the day before from the bride's home, and which is considered to contain much *baraka*. Among the Ait Ḥåssan, a division of the Ait Waráin, the following ceremony also takes place on this morning. The bride's mother, who then comes to the bridegroom's place, is asked by the bachelors to give them *lfṭōr nĕ-ssérwal*, "the breakfast of the drawers." When she replies that she has nothing to give them, they seize hold of her and put her into a *ṭrâttša*, that is, a net made of rope for the purpose of carrying straw. This net, with the woman in it, is hung up inside the house, with one end attached to the wall and the other end to the *tårkizt*, or pole supporting

the centre of the roof. She is then swung to and fro with such force that she is knocked against the wall, and this is continued until the bachelors get what they have asked of her. Custom requires that she should first refuse their request, so that they get a reason for putting her into the *ṭrâttša*. For the ceremony in question has magical significance: it is parallel to the bridegroom's mother carrying a sieve or a bundle of clothes on her back as if it were a baby. In this tribe, as elsewhere, rocking is a common method of putting a baby to sleep, and a *ṭrâttša* is sometimes used for the purpose.

We have still to notice an interesting ceremony which takes place the same morning among the Ait Waráin. The bride, whose hair was untied the day when she was painted with henna, now has the left side of it plaited by the bridegroom, but only after the ribbon (*ázellum*) with which it is fastened has been subjected to the following procedure. It is put by the women into a bowl of henna, from which the bachelors try to take it; formed in a ring round the bowl, the women oppose them, and a fight ensues. If the bachelors win, the bride has to give them food, of which the women also partake, though by themselves, whereas, if they lose, the women are entertained with a meal of which the bachelors get nothing. The condition of the *ázellum* after the fight is taken for an omen: if it is untorn, the wife will always remain with her husband, and their marriage will be happy; if it is a little torn, they will separate after some time; and if it is much

torn, there will be speedy separation. The bridegroom's father is the first to examine the *ázellum*, and seems to take the matter quite seriously. The bride hands it to the bridegroom on the evening when they meet again, and after plaiting her hair he gives her some money.

Among the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi the bridegroom visits the bride late at night, when the people in the tent have gone to sleep and the light has been extinguished. But he does not enter the enclosure alone: he is accompanied by his *ázuzir*, who lights a candle, which is then left burning till he leaves. He puts his pistol underneath the pillow, and taps the bride with his right slipper seven times between her shoulders. If she is obstinate the *ázuzir* ties up her hands, and if she makes serious difficulties and becomes noisy, she may even be beaten by both of them. But whether she offers resistance or not, the *ázuzir* remains in the enclosure as long as the bridegroom, only turning his back to the couple when they have intercourse. He talks and jokes with them and congratulates and blesses them; nay, he even laughingly proposes that he also should have his share of pleasure with the bride. After the connection the bridegroom gives her the so-called *ṣṣbaḥ*, consisting of about half of the money received at the henna-ceremony.

If no blood is found on the bride's *lízār*, the *ázuzir* goes and reports the fact to the bridegroom's mother, who gives him some blood of a cock to sprinkle on it.

It is not the custom for a bride to be sent away because there are no signs of blood, and yet it is not usual for a man and woman to have intercourse with each other before their wedding. Before the bridegroom and *âuzir* depart, the latter ties the belt of the bride round the *hâyɛ̣k* over the crown of the bridegroom's head, where it is left as long as the bride remains ungirdled. When the two men have left the tent some of the *islān* fire two or three shots, and the woman attending the bride makes a quivering noise. The *ilzār* of the bride is exhibited on the roof of the tent, so that the people shall see the blood, but is then again used the following nights, without being washed until seven days have passed. On the morning after the first intercourse the bride's mother gives breakfast to the bridegroom and bachelors in the tent where they are sitting, and afterwards also to the bridegroom's family and the women who are with the bride. This meal, which is called *ṣṣbaḥ n-ṯmṭṭōṯ*, "the woman's morning," consists of figs, dates, raisins, and thin cakes made of flour and salt butter (*ṯâšarqīṯ*), and all who partake of the meal put some money in an empty dish (*dzzɛ̣wa*) as a present to the mother, who, however, divides it with her daughter if she is sufficiently fond of her.

Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġäl the bridegroom has his first intercourse with the bride only on the day after her arrival, when all the guests have gone away, and if he is shy of his parents he waits till the evening before he goes to see her. When he enters the room where

she is sitting he has his head covered and must not look back. He goes to the bed and beats her with the cord (*fîru*) of his dagger (*ḏâḥaḏmiṯ*) three times between her shoulders, so as to make her obedient to him. He gives her his right hand as a greeting, and puts into hers a silver coin which he has between his fingers ; this money is called *rfrus nḵ-ssrâm*, "the money of greeting," and its object was said to be to make the family prosperous. He performs the usual ablution preparatory to prayer and says two *rek'at*, after which he makes *fâṯḥa* and says, *S-slâmu 'âlikum*, "Peace be with you." He pushes back the hood of his cloak, she removes the shawl from her head, and they have together a meal consisting of bread, eggs, raisins, almonds, and walnuts. He seizes hold of her ; she makes resistance and cries, but regardless of this he has intercourse with her. They spend together the rest of the day, as also the night, the bridegroom only leaving the room early the following morning with his head covered as before. His mother and the other women of his family come there and examine the chemise which was underneath the bride on the bed. The latter now puts on her forehead the *ḏîḏli* mentioned before, and dresses herself in fine clothes ; unless, indeed, she is found not to have been a virgin. In this case she is sent back to her father, who kills her either by shooting or poisoning ; but such cases are very rare.

In Aglu, also, the bridegroom pays the first visit to his bride on the day after she was taken to his house.

Before he enters the room where she is waiting for him, he sends there the *luzîra* with his sword, which she puts on the bed; from the day when the bride is fetched, and as long as the wedding lasts, he carries a sword. In the evening he goes there himself accompanied by his *luzîr*, but enters alone. He first places his right foot twice over the threshold and makes his entrance by a third step. He throws at the bride his right slipper, into which he has put some salt, and she then throws at him her right slipper likewise containing some salt. He says two *rek'ât* and proceeds to the bed. The *luzîra* brings a dish of meat, a dish of *sĕksu*, and a third dish containing bread, honey, and salt butter. From each of these dishes the bridegroom pushes a little food three times into the mouth of the bride, who bashfully tries to prevent it, and she then does the same to him. After this he gives her a small sum of money, called *lflūs n-ssĕrwal*, "the money of the drawers," and dates. The money generally has an appeasing effect on the bride, who first makes resistance, sometimes even scratching the bridegroom's face so that blood flows. If he succeeds in breaking her hymen, he leaves the room with the backs of his slippers pulled up, fires off his gun, and goes with the *luzîr* to the mosque after performing the necessary ablution. The shot is a signal which attracts to the room men and women, who come to examine the blood-stained *lizâr*; they partake of the food left in the dishes, and the bride gives to all of them dates to eat. There is dancing that morning, in which the bridegroom takes part in case he has

deprived the bride of her virginity. If she is found not to be a virgin she is sent away ; and sometimes she is killed by her father or brother, or given in marriage to some man living in a distant place, so that nothing may be heard of her for the future.

It may be added that the candle or candles burning in the room when the young couple have their first intercourse must not be extinguished by anybody, but must be left to burn out—a custom which also prevails at Marrakesh and Mogador.[1] In some parts of Sūs, though not in Aglu, and among the Shlöḥ of Demnat as well, it is the custom that, when the bridegroom is going to have connection with the bride, the latter takes one of her new slippers and beats him three times with it on his body ; it is believed that if he keeps perfectly silent he will be the ruler of the house, whereas in the opposite case he will be ruled over by his wife.

Among the Ait Tăměldu the bride is in the evening of the day after her arrival subject to the ceremony called *áfssai n-iḫf*, "the loosening of the hair" (lit. "head"), that is, her hair, which has been tied up with a knot behind, is now loosened, combed, smeared with henna, and arranged in the fashion of married women. The next evening is the *üḍ nĕ-lḥânna*, of which it has been spoken before ; and the third night after the bride was taken to the bridegroom's house or, if his parents are alive, only when all the guests have gone

[1] *Cf.* Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae*, 75 :—"Why did they (that is, the Romans) not extinguish a candle, but suffer it to burn out of its own accord?"

away, he has his first intercourse with her. Before he opens her belt (*tákŭst*) he gives her the so-called *áfssai n-tákŭst*, consisting of a small sum of money—a few pesetas or a couple of dollars. If he finds her a virgin, he fires a shot through the window of the room, and the women outside make a quivering noise (*táuġritt*). In the opposite case he removes his white cloak and puts on a black one, and thus dressed walks out through the crowd of people. The guests then disperse, and the bride is taken back to her old home.

Among the Iglíwa the bridegroom visits the bride in the evening of the day when she arrives at his house. The woman who attends her brings some meat, bread, and dates, of which she first gives a little to the bridegroom to put into the mouth of the bride and then a little to the bride to put into the mouth of the bridegroom. This ceremony may be repeated two or three times. The bride does not speak a word but appears bashful, and when the woman has gone away and the bridegroom undresses the bride, it often happens that she makes resistance. If he finds her a virgin he pulls up the backs of his slippers and walks thus out of the room together with the bride; and if he is not a scribe or man of distinction he joins in the dancing which is going on in the same or a neighbouring house or in the yard. So also the bride joins in the dance for a little while, after which she returns with the bridegroom to their room, where they finish the food brought by the woman; the bride's bashful-

ness only lasted as long as she remained a virgin. In the morning the bridegroom receives *lĝrâma* from the people, who put down their coins on a tray (*isŭggi*) close to the spot where he is sitting with covered eyes. When giving their money the donors say, "This is on behalf of myself," or, "This is on behalf of my family," or some similar phrase.

If the bride is found not to be a virgin, she is beaten by the bridegroom, sent away in ragged clothes, and sometimes killed by her cousin or brother.

At Amzmŭz, if the bridegroom finds the bride to be a virgin, he goes out with the backs of his slippers pulled up as an indication of her virginity, and the blood-stained garment is shown to the people. In the opposite case he beats her and sends her away dressed in black and dirty clothes.

Among the customs described in this chapter we have first to notice those preceding the bridegroom's intercourse with his bride.

Many of them serve the purpose of protecting him or her or both of them from the dangers of which the atmosphere is full when he enters the room or tent where she is waiting for him. He must not let her wait so long that she falls asleep, lest she should be struck by *jnūn* when she is awakened by the noise he makes.[1] He puts his right foot twice over the

[1] The Moors believe that a person seized with sudden fear is peculiarly liable to the attacks of *jnūn*, and that it therefore is dangerous to be awakened out of sleep too suddenly (Westermarck, 'The Nature of the Arab *Ğinn*, illustrated by the Present Beliefs of the People of Morocco,' in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxix. [1900], p. 254).

threshold before he makes his entrance by a third step.[1] He must not look back, lest evil spirits should enter with him.[2] To drive away such spirits or other evil influences, he sends his sword in advance to be put on the bed, or puts it there himself, or hangs it on the wall, or lays a pistol underneath the pillow; and he burns incense in silence, sprinkles water in each corner of the room, dips the bride's fingers into water,[3] and recites over her "the *sûra* of the *djinn*." For a similar reason, I presume, he, after an ablution, says two *rek'ât*,[4] or forms of prayer, which is considered to be essential for the production of good offspring; even in ordinary married life it is held necessary that the husband before having intercourse with his wife should say *bismillâh*, "In the name of God," lest the devil should enter the

[1] Among the Touareg of the Ahaggar, when the bridegroom has been taken to the tent by his friends and has walked round it three times, "il y pénètre ensuite en ayant soin de poser le pied droit le premier, toujours parce que cela porte bonheur" (Benhazera, *Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar* [Alger, 1908], p. 16). Among certain Algerian Kabyles, when the bride has arrived at the bridegroom's house, she puts her right foot on the threshold of the door, and is then carried in by the bridegroom (Féraud, 'Mœurs et coutumes kabiles,' in *Revue Africaine*, vi. [1862], p. 431). In a mosque a Muhammedan always puts his right foot first as he passes into the square devoted to prayer (Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam* [London, 1896], p. 329). In ancient India it was considered essential that in crossing the threshold the bride and bridegroom should do so right foot foremost (Winternitz, 'Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell,' in *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Classe*, xl. [Wien, 1892], p. 72). A similar custom prevails among the Greeks of Turkey and in Albania (Löbel, *Hochzeitsbräuche in der Türkei* [Amsterdam, 1897], pp. 143, 144, 172). *Cf.* Crooke, 'The Lifting of the Bride,' in *Folk-Lore*, xiii. (1902), p. 241.

[2] See *supra*, p. 189.

[3] In Persia, when the bridegroom has entered the bridal chamber, "a basin and ewer and water are . . . brought, and the right leg of the bride and the left leg of the bridegroom are placed together and washed, and their hands also in the same manner" (*Customs and Manners of the Women of Persia*, trans. by Atkinson [London, 1832], p. 43).

[4] *Cf.* Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, i. (London, 1871), p. 218.

woman and make the child a villain.[1] The bridegroom cuts off the *baṣ* by cutting a rope which is hanging in front of the bed, throws away the *baṣ* by throwing away a needle which has been put into the bride's slipper, and crushes the *baṣ* by crushing the cane-work of her headgear. In one case he is said to expel evil spirits by tapping her on her forehead and shoulders with the flat of his sword, whereas in other cases his tapping her three or seven times on her head or shoulder with his sword, or his beating her three times between her shoulders with the cord of his dagger, or his smacking[2] or kicking her, is represented as a method of making himself her ruler. In one tribe he taps her seven times between her shoulders with his right slipper; in another tribe both of them throw at each other their right slippers containing salt, and this suggests the purpose of mutual purification, since salt is a common charm against *jnūn*. But we also hear that the bride throws at the bridegroom one of her slippers in order to get power over him, or that she with the same object in view waves her right slipper seven times towards the door when she hears him coming; and when she beats him three times on his body with her slipper, it is said

[1] *Cf.* El-Buḫārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxvii. 66, French translation by Houdas and Marçais, vol. iii. (Paris, 1908), p. 578:—"D'après Ibn-'Abbâs, le Prophète a dit: 'Eh bien! si l'un de vous, voulant avoir commerce avec sa femme, disait: "Au nom de Dieu. Ô mon Dieu, écarte de moi le démon; écarte le démon du fruit de notre union," et qu'ensuite le Destin ou la Prédestination fît naître un enfant de ces relations, le démon ne pourrait jamais nuire à cet enfant.'"

[2] Among the Beni Snūs in Algeria, as soon as the bridegroom has entered, "il donne, à celle qui va être sa femme, trois ou quatre coups de poing dans le dos. Quand le jeune homme est mal disposé, il la frappe à lui en laisser le corps tout bleu, mais, de la sorte, la femme craint son mari" (Destaing, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Beni-Snous* [Paris, 1907], p. 289).

to depend on his behaviour whether he or she will be the ruler. The association between a slipper and domestic rule is so natural that these ceremonies may very well have had from the beginning the meaning which is now ascribed to them by the natives,[1] but at the same time they may also be methods of purification, as seems to be the case with other slipper-ceremonies mentioned above.[2] In the Andjra custom of water-

[1] On the shoe as a "symbol" of power see Sartori, 'Der Schuh im Volksglauben,' in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, iv. (1894), p. 173 *sqq.*; Goldmann, 'Přemysl-Samo,' in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, xxx. (1909), p. 331 *sqq.*

[2] The throwing of shoes is common at weddings. At a Turkish wedding the bridegroom "has to run for his life to the harem under a shower of old shoes; for, according to the Turks, an old slipper thrown after a man is an infallible charm against the evil eye" (Cox, *An Introduction to Folk-Lore* [London, 1897], p. 18). In his *Account of the Isle of Man* (vol. ii. [Douglas, 1845], p. 129) Train writes:—"On the bridegroom leaving his house, it was customary to throw an old shoe after him, and in like manner an old shoe after the bride on leaving her home to proceed to church, in order to ensure good luck to each respectively; and, if by stratagem, either of the bride's shoes could be taken off by any spectator on her way from church, it had to be ransomed by the bridegroom." Sartori (in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, iv. [1894], p. 153) thinks that the main object of throwing a shoe after bride and bridegroom was to ensure fecundity, and Mr. Hartland (*Primitive Paternity*, i. [London, 1909], p. 109) seems to be of the same opinion. But Brand says in his *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain* (vol. iii. [London, 1849], p. 168) that it is also "accounted lucky by the vulgar to throw an old shoe after a person when they wish him to succeed in what he is going about." M'Lennan (*Studies in Ancient History* [London, 1886], p. 14 *sq.* n.[3]) suggested that the English custom of hurling an old shoe after the bridegroom may be a relic of capture, being "a sham assault on the person carrying off the lady"; but whatever else may be said against this explanation, it is disproved by the fact that an old shoe was also thrown after the bride. Equally unsatisfactory is, in my opinion, Samter's suggestion that the hurling of a shoe after the bride and bridegroom in England and elsewhere was originally meant as an offering to dangerous spirits (Samter, 'Hochzeitsbräuche,' *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, xix. (1907), p. 134 *sqq.*; *Idem*, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod* [Leipzig & Berlin, 1911], p. 201 *sqq.*); in this, as in various other cases, he seems to have exaggerated the influence which the belief in spirits has exercised on the wedding ceremonies and underrated the belief in impersonal magical forces. Zachariae ('Zum altindischen Hochzeitsritual,' in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, xvii. [1903], p. 138) maintains that the custom in question was in the first place meant to avert evil influences, such as malevolent spirits or the evil eye, and that its connection with the idea of good luck is secondary; and that he, also, thinks

drinking and the order in which it is performed we have an instance of the idea of mastership being connected with a custom which obviously does not owe its origin to that idea. And it is interesting to notice that at Demnat, where I was told that the bride beats the bridegroom with her slipper, it also occurs, according to the description given by M. Saïd Boulifa, that she beats him with a piece of rock-salt.[1]

There are other ceremonies that are probably intended to make the husband ruler over his wife, or at all events symbolise his superiority : she removes the slippers from his feet, she kisses his hand.[2] But she also tries to make him fond of her by whispering some magical words while he is resting his head on her arm. He, for his part, asks God to bless them with children and make them prosper, and when he gives her his hand he puts into hers a silver coin "to make the family prosperous."

It is a very common custom that the pair partake of some food together before they have intercourse.[3]

of it mainly as a safeguard against spirits, appears from his hesitating, but entirely unfounded, supposition that spirits are afraid of leather (*ibid.* p. 138 n.[5]). See also Goldmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der germanischen Freilassung durch Wehrhaftmachung* (Breslau, 1904), p. 21 ; *Idem*, in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, xxx. (1909), p. 333.

[1] Saïd Boulifa, *Textes berbères en dialecte de l'Atlas marocain* (Paris, 1908), p. 19.

[2] At Cairo, when the veil has been removed from the bride on the bridegroom's entrance in the bed-chamber, she rises and kisses his hands (Burckhardt, *Arabic Proverbs* [London, 1830], p. 116 *sq.*).

[3] The custom of bride and bridegroom partaking of some food or drink in common is very widely spread. See v. Schroeder, *Die Hochzeitsbräuche der Esten und einiger andrer finnisch-ugrischer Völkerschaften, in Vergleichung mit denen der indogermanischen Völker* (Berlin, 1888), p. 82 *sqq.* ; Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (London, 1894), p. 419 *sqq.* ; Sartori, *Sitte und Brauch*, i. (Leipzig, 1910), p. 73 *sq.* In India, for example, the bride and bridegroom eat food from the same dish (Crooke, *Things Indian* [London, 1906], p. 319).

Sometimes the bridegroom eats first and then puts some food into the bride's mouth, and sometimes, among the Shlöḥ, they both push a little food into each other's mouths. All over Morocco eating together is a frequent method of sealing a compact of friendship; it is a form of *'ahd*, or covenant, which ultimately derives its binding force from the idea that the parties transfer conditional curses to one another by a material medium —in this case the food,—as appears from the usual saying that the food will repay him who breaks the contract.[1] In a previous chapter I mentioned that on the occasion called *lă-ġdîya ḏel-'ărûṣa* a portion of food is sent from the bride's house to the bridegroom, and that this is regarded as *'ahd* between the parties. To the same class of ceremonies belongs the bride's and bridegroom's partaking of food in common: it is a means of sealing their union by an act which has naturally been suggested by one of the most prominent features of married life, the husband's sharing of food with his wife. Considering, however, that the eating together takes place before the sexual intercourse, it seems at the same time to serve the object of bringing bride and bridegroom nearer each other previously to the great event by which the union is completed. But sometimes there is a common meal after the intercourse as well as before it, and in one instance, referred to in a previous chapter,[2] there is an eating ceremony the second night, when the pair partake of the liver of the sheep slaughtered

[1] Westermarck, '*L-'âr*, or the Transference of Conditional Curses in Morocco,' in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor* (Oxford, 1907), p. 373 *sq.*

[2] *Supra*, p. 101.

at "the great henna" of the bridegroom, as also of the egg which was in the bowl containing the henna. The native explanation of this custom was that the liver is eaten for the purpose of making the parties dear to one another, and the egg to make their future white.[1]

Nearly related to the eating ceremonies there are others referring to dress. We have seen that in Andjra the bridegroom, when he goes to visit the bride, has round him a *ḥâyḕk* which was previously worn by her on the occasion called "the bride's beginning and tying of the *ḥâyḕk*."[2] In another tribe the belt of the bride is tied round the bridegroom's *ḥâyḕk* over the crown of his head after they have had intercourse, and at Fez the bride, before they part, gives him two handkerchiefs, one of which he ties round his waist, and a cord which she threads through his trousers. In this connection we should further remember the Ḥiáina custom, according to which the bridegroom, at his *rbēṭ*, has on his feet a pair of slippers bought with money out of the bride's share of the *ṣdaq*.[3] These customs remind us of another form of *'ahd*, namely, that which consists in an exchange of articles of dress; as I have said in another place, "in times of rebellion chiefs exchange their cloaks or turbans, and it is believed that if any of them should break their covenant he would be punished with some grave misfortune."[4] But we may assume that in the

[1] Among the Muhammedans of India some milk in a cup is given to the bridegroom to drink, after which the bride's mouth is touched with the leavings; this is supposed "to create a mutual affection between them" (Jaffur Shurreef, *Qanoon-e-islam, or the Customs of the Mussulmans of India* [Madras, 1863], p. 91).

[2] *Supra*, pp. 127, 128, 142 *sq.* [3] *Supra*, p. 102.

[4] Westermarck, in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, p. 373.

wedding ceremonies the article of dress belonging to or presented by one of the partners and worn by the other, like the food partaken of in common, is meant not merely to serve as a pledge, but to establish a more intimate union between them.

It is no doubt for a similar purpose that the bridegroom sometimes plaits the hair on one side of the bride's head. Besides the Arabs of the Ḥiâina and Berbers of the Ait Waráin, there are other tribes, such as the Ulâd Bu-'Ăzîz and the people of Andjra, in which the bride arrives with her hair dishevelled, and the reason for this custom is avowedly to prevent the *baṣ* from accumulating by being tied up. I presume that the ceremonies connected with the plaiting of her hair among the Ait Waráin—the putting of the *dzellum* into henna, the fight over it, and the bridegroom's paying of money to the bride after he has coiffed her [1]—are meant to neutralise the danger with which the act is supposed to be attended.[2] There are other instances in which the payment of money serves as a prophylactic. When a shereef, or *fqī*, or somebody else who is possessed of *baraka*, tries to cure a sick person by reading an incantation over him and touching his forehead or the affected part of his body with his right hand, the patient must give him a small sum of money, at least a *dėrhṃ*, or, if he has no money, something white, like wool, eggs, buttermilk, salt, or sugar, or some grain. This

[1] At Fez, on the fifth day after *nhār l-'ŏrs*, when the bride's hair is opened, the bridegroom undoes the end of one of her plaits and puts on her hair a silver coin (*infra*, p. 276).

[2] The Roman custom of parting the hair of a bride with the point of a spear (Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae*, 87) may have had a similar origin.

reward is called *lĕ-ftöḥ* (*l-ftˢöḥ*), *i.e.* "the opening," or *dĕrḥam l-ftˢöḥ*, or *uqîit ɣ-ɣṛḥ* ; and it is thought that, if it is not given, the illness will affect the doctor. So also I believe that the money, called "the opening of the girdle" or "the money of the drawers," which the bridegroom presents to the bride before the connection, is really intended as a safeguard against evil influences,[1] although it is in one case said to bring good luck and in another to have an appeasing effect on the bride.[2] The opening of a woman's belt is considered to involve danger to others even if she is not a bride. In the Ḥiáina, if a strange woman spends a night as guest in another person's house, she is not allowed to undo her girdle unless a fowl is killed or a cut is made in the ear of a sheep; the blood of the fowl or sheep is then supposed to destroy the *bạs* emanating from her when she loosens her belt. Similarly, among the Ait Waráin a married woman, widow, or divorced wife must not open her girdle when she spends the first night in a relative's house or tent, unless an animal or fowl is killed, or a cut is made in the ear of an animal, and the blood is sprinkled on the threshold; and the same rule has to be observed whenever such a woman is guest for a night in the home of a stranger. Among the Aiṯ Nḏēr, again, she is under no circumstances allowed to loosen her girdle in another person's tent, and if she stays

[1] In ancient India the bridegroom recited certain verses when he opened the girdle of the bride (Haas, 'Die Heirathsgebräuche der alten Inder,' in Weber's *Indische Studien*, v. [Berlin, 1862], p. 389 *sq.*).

[2] The *rfrus nṯ-ssräm*, or "money of greeting," which the Rîfian bridegroom gives to the bride for the professed object of making the family prosperous may have had a similar origin.

there overnight for the first time the host kills a fowl or makes a cut in the ear of a goat, and in the latter case, he, besides, secretly smears a little of the blood on her clothes. In many tribes (Andjra, Tsūl, Ḥiáina, Ait Waráin, etc.) the bride comes to the bridegroom's place without a belt,[1] and I was expressly told that the object of this custom is to prevent her giving *bạs* to the bridegroom. Now it is true that even in some of these cases he pays money to her before they have intercourse, but considering that this money nevertheless is called "the opening of the girdle," it is a fair conclusion that the payment of it is either a survival from a time when it deserved its name or is a custom borrowed from without. Sometimes money is given by the bridegroom not before but after the connection; in such cases it is looked upon as a *pretium virginitatis*, but its original object may notwithstanding have been to remove a danger.[2] At the same time I admit that an idea of compensation may be connected even with the money given before the consummation of the marriage.[3]

[1] Also among the Beni Snūs in Algeria (Destaing, *op. cit.* p. 289).

[2] In Dukkâla it is called *ḳällăn l-ḥăzạ̈m*, though given after the connection.

[3] At Cairo the bridegroom must give to the bride a present of money, which is called "the price of the uncovering of the face," before he attempts to remove the shawl which she has thrown over her head; on removing the covering, which she does not allow him to do without some apparent reluctance, if not violent resistance, he says, "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful"—a phrase which almost suggests the idea of the act being attended with supernatural danger (Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* [London, 1896], p. 182; *Idem*, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages* [London, 1883], p. 237; Burckhardt, *Arabic Proverbs*, p. 116 *sq.*). Among the Turks the bridegroom, when unveiling the bride, gives her a present called *jüz görümlük* ("the seeing of the face"), generally consisting of a valuable ring (Löbel, *op. cit.* p. 35). At Constantine, in Algeria, "le mari ne doit point adresser la parole à sa femme avant que l'union ait été consommée; pour faciliter leurs premières relations et éloigner la crainte de son cœur, il lui remet une certaine somme d'argent, qui sera calculée par exemple en donnant cinq francs par chaque

Besides the fear of *bąs* there may yet be another reason for the custom which requires the bride to come to her new home with dishevelled hair or without a belt; tangles or knots are looked upon as magical impediments and are therefore not infrequently avoided at childbirths and weddings.[1] An idea of this kind seems to account for the fact that the bridegroom also, in some places, has no belt round his waist—a custom which I have found not only at Fez but at Tangier and elsewhere.[2] But if a knot acts as an impediment, the undoing of it naturally has the opposite effect. The making of seven knots in the cord of the bride's drawers[3] may be a sham attempt on the part of the *hąddâyžn* to protect the bride by laying obstacles in the bridegroom's way, but I venture to believe that its real object is to give him an opportunity to facilitate the consummation of the marriage by untying the knots;

centaine de francs de la dot: c'est ce qu'on appelle le droit à la parole, *haqq el kelām*; il y ajoute parfois un bijou" (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Les Cérémonies du mariage chez les indigènes de l'Algérie* [Paris, 1901], p. 61). In Southern Algeria, "la jeune fille demande à son mari le droit de la première entrevue. Celui-ci donne immédiatement une pièce de dix, cinq ou deux francs, selon le plus ou moins d'aisance de la famille" (Villot, *Mœurs, coutumes et institutions des indigènes de l'Algérie* [Alger, 1888], p. 106).

[1] Frazer, *Taboo* (*The Golden Bough*, pt. ii.; London, 1911), p. 294 *sqq.* (especially p. 299 *sq.*:—"Knots are supposed to prevent the consummation of marriage"); Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 121 *sqq.*

[2] See *infra*, pp. 281, 293. *Cf.* Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.* p. 74 (Tlemcen).

[3] In Rome the girdle worn by the bride was tied up in a so-called "Herculean knot" (*nodus Herculaneus*)—particularly difficult to untie—"quod vir in lecto solvebat" (Festus, *De significatione verborum*, ed. Mueller [Lipsiæ, 1839], p. 63). This custom was explained as being intended to secure a fruitful marriage, because Hercules had many children (*ibid.*). Modern writers have taken it to be an amulet against the evil eye (Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, i. [Leipzig, 1886], p. 45 n.[2]) or "the symbol of a stable marriage, and perhaps the original of the 'true lover's knot'" (Smith, Wayte, and Marindin, *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, ii. [London, 1891], p. 142). But perhaps the Herculean knot, also, was made for the purpose of being untied by the bridegroom.

and this may have been thought the more necessary on account of the previous ceremony of tying the fringe of the bridegroom's *ḥâyḓk* while worn by the bride.[1] These two ceremonies occur in the same tribe, Andjra, and I have heard of them nowhere else.

In many tribes, especially Berber, resistance is said to be made by the bride, and it seems that she is driven to it not only by instinctive bashfulness or fear but by custom or etiquette.[2] Among the Berbers living near Fez and the Algerian frontier, as also the southern Jbâla, drastic methods are applied to subdue her,[3] and in one tribe the best-man is actually present when the intercourse takes place.

The ceremonies which follow on the connection are, like those preceding it, largely of a purificatory or protective character; for evil forces are still active, and the hymeneal blood (called *ṣdaq* or *ṣbaḥ*) in particular is a seat of danger. It is true that *baraka* and medicinal virtue is sometimes ascribed to it, but I have also heard the accuracy of this opinion emphatically denied; and, besides, *baraka* itself is more or less dangerous. I am told that in Andjra there are bridegrooms who take care that no offspring can result from the defloration of the bride, since many people believe that the child

[1] *Supra*, p. 142 *sq.*

[2] Among the Bedouins of Mount Sinai, the more the bride "struggles, bites, kicks, cries, and strikes, the more she is applauded ever after by her own companions" (Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahâbys* [London, 1830], p. 150). *Cf.* Biarnay, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère de Ouargla* (Paris, 1908), p. 473 *sq.*

[3] *Cf.* Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahâbys*, p. 151 n. †:—Among the Bedouins of Sinai "it sometimes happens, as I have been assured, that the husband is obliged to tie his bride, and even to beat her, before she can be induced to comply with his desires."

would be diseased if the semen came into contact with the hymeneal blood; whilst others maintain that the child will be all right if only the bride and bridegroom avoid cleaning themselves with the same towel.

In the early morning the bridegroom, after the necessary ablutions, prays and recites a *sûra* of the Koran while still in his room, or goes to the mosque or the hot bath. In Andjra he walks out well covered up and with his eyes painted with antimony, which is a purifying substance, whilst in other tribes the bride paints herself with antimony and walnut root—the bridegroom having previously been painted with the same colouring matters—or has saffron smeared on her forehead and face. In some tribes the bridegroom after the connection pulls up the backs of his slippers as an advertisement that he has deprived the bride of her virginity, but also, I presume, as a precaution; for he wears them in this fashion for several days, and in other cases, as we have seen, he has pulled up their backs already before meeting the bride.

In Sūs he fires off his gun if he has found his bride to be a virgin,[1] whereas in other places a shot or generally two or more shots are fired by the best-man or other bachelors.[2] This, also, serves as an announcement of the defloration of the bride or as a signal for

[1] Among certain Algerian Kabyles "aussitôt que l'acte du mariage est consommé, le mari tire un coup de pistolet dans la chambre où il se trouve" (Féraud, *loc. cit.* vi. 431).

[2] *Cf.* de Calassanti-Motylinski, *Le Djebel Nefousa* (Paris, 1899), p. 113; Destaing, *op. cit.* p. 290 (Beni Snūs).

examining her clothes, but there can be little doubt that at the same time it is meant as a safeguard against evil influences, as is the case with the shooting on various other occasions; indeed, in one instance the two shots fired by the best-man are expressly said to destroy the *bạs* of the bridegroom and of the bride. Similar ideas seem to be connected with the quivering noise made by the bride's *ḥạddâyĭn* or her mother or maternal aunt or the bridegroom's mother, or some other woman or women of his family or village, or even by all the women who are present when the drawers of the bride are exhibited;[1] I take this noise to be not merely an announcement of the bride's virginity or a formal expression of joy but, as we have previously found it to be, a means of expelling evil. To the same class of ceremonies belong the singing and dancing round, or in the presence of, the blood-stained garment of the bride, and the woman's dancing with it on the top of her head. In one tribe the people who partake of the porridge served on this occasion smear a little of it on each other's faces, and porridge made of wheaten meal is naturally a purifying substance.[2] In another tribe the drawers of the bride, together with a flag attached to a bamboo cane, are blown to pieces in order that the *bạs* shall be destroyed.[3] It is a common though not

[1] *Cf.* Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 182 *sq.*

[2] See Westermarck, *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco* (*Öfversigt af Finska Vetenskapssocietetens Förhandlingar*, Bd. liv. 1911-1912, Afd. B. No. 1. Helsingfors, 1913), ch. i. *passim*; *Idem*, 'The Popular Ritual of the Great Feast in Morocco,' in *Folk-Lore*, xxii. (1911), p. 142.

[3] It is reported that in some places in Algeria the chemise of the bride is burned (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, in *Revue des traditions populaires*, xxii. [1907], p. 52).

universal custom in Morocco that the garment with the marks of virginity is publicly exhibited.[1]

Sometimes, among the Shlöḥ, the bride or bridegroom, or both, join in the dance of the people in the night or morning, but only in case he has deprived her of her virginity and the pair consequently are in particular need of purification.[2] To the ceremonial fights which follow on the consummation of the marriage I am likewise inclined to ascribe a purificatory significance. Sometimes there is a fight between the bachelors and women over the food brought by the bride's mother; this is said to have a beneficial effect, and as for the dung which the defeated party tries to throw into the dish it is worth mentioning

[1] *Cf.* Villot, *op. cit.* p. 107 (Algeria). Burckhardt (*Arabic Proverbs*, p. 117 *sq.*) says that "among the lower classes of Moslims at Cairo it is customary that on the day after the nuptials certain female relations of the bride should carry her innermost garment in triumph to the houses of their neighbours. But this practice is not adopted by the more respectable inhabitants, among whom the chemise is exhibited only in the bridegroom's house to the women assembled there; and in many instances the people of high rank condemn even this exhibition as indecent, and no longer allow it." At Mecca the bride's mother shows the garment to the women who have spent the night in the house (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. [Haag, 1888], p. 185 *sq.*). The Aeneze do not require any indelicate proofs of virginity (Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahábys*, p. 62).

[2] Among some Algerian Kabyles the bride dances in the midst of the guests, moving her blood-stained chemise with her hands (Féraud, *loc. cit.* p. 431). "Among the peasants of Upper Egypt, the relations and acquaintances of the bridegroom and bride meet together on the day after the marriage; and while a number of the men clap their hands, as an accompaniment to a tambourine or two, and any other instruments that can be procured, the bride dances before them for a short time. She has a head-veil reaching to her heels, and a printed cotton handkerchief completely covering her face, and wears externally the most remarkable of her bridal garments" (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 575). In Palestine the Rev. C. T. Wilson (*Peasant Life in the Holy Land* [London, 1906], p. 113 *sq.*) has seen a sort of effigy of the bride called *Zarâfeh*, consisting of some of her clothes stuffed with straw in the form of a person, fastened to a pole, and carried by a man who makes it appear to dance in the midst of the wedding guests; and it seems that the bride herself occasionally will come out and dance. On the custom of dancing at weddings in Europe see Sartori, *op. cit.* p. 103 *sqq.*

that cowdung is in Morocco used as a means of purification.[1] Sometimes the *ișlạn* and the unmarried women have a fight in the morning about the contents of the bride's *mézwud*; and sometimes the married men fight with the bachelors, trying to deprive the bridegroom of his slippers, turban, and other articles of his dress.

At Fez the women put money on the drawers of the bride when exhibited in the houses of the young couple's parents; but previously to this the men gave *ġrâma* to the bridegroom, amid the quivering noise of women, while he was seated in the nuptial chamber immediately before his first meeting with the bride. In other places, again, the bridegroom is subject to a *ġrâma*-ceremony on the morning after the marriage has been consummated.

Congratulations and good wishes are in the morning presented to the bridegroom, bride, and her mother. It is a common custom that a meal is then given by the mother, or that some food from her house is served to the bridegroom and bachelors or to the bridegroom's family or to other people as well.

After the consummation of the marriage, as well as before it, there are magical practices which are intended either to make the union fruitful or to improve the offspring. To a ceremony of the former kind the bride's or the bridegroom's mother is sometimes subject, whilst the order in which the bride and bridegroom

[1] See Westermarck, *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, etc., in Morocco*, pp. 80, 81, 83.

wash themselves after the connection is supposed to influence the looks of the child.

If the bride is found not to be a virgin, she is frequently sent away and the price paid for her and the presents given for her have to be returned. Sometimes she is killed by her father, brother, or cousin, either on the spot or afterwards, or she is given in marriage to some man living in a distant place. But it may be that she is kept if one-half of the bride-price is given back, or that she is forgiven after a thrashing, or that little notice is taken of the whole affair. Among the Berbers near Fez and the Algerian frontier a bride is rarely or never sent away on account of lost virtue, and in order to save appearances the blood of a fowl is used as a substitute for the missing marks of virginity.[1]

Most commonly the bride and bridegroom meet and have intercourse the night after the former's arrival at her new home. In one of the Arab tribes, however, it is the custom for them to have connection on the previous night at the bride's place, whilst in some Berber tribes the bridegroom visits her only on the day after her arrival or later. Mr. Crawley has made the suggestion that the practice of thus postponing the consummation of the marriage, which is found in

[1] The following account was given by Mouette (*The Travels of the Sieur Mouette, In the Kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, During his Eleven Years' Captivity in those Parts* [trans.; London, 1710], p. 43):—"If he (that is, the bridegroom) finds her not a Maid, he takes off the Cloaths he has given her, and without seeing her Face, restores her to the Kindred, who conduct her back to the Father, and it is in his Power to Strangle her, if he will go to the Rigour. When the Matches are among Relations, those Ceremonies are seldom practis'd, for Fear of disgracing the Family; but for saving of the Formalities, the Husband kills a Pigeon upon a Pair of Drawers, which he throws out, and then unveils his Wives Face."

various countries, is, like many other practices, due to the notion of sexual danger and illustrates the principle "that a temporary self-denial of a dangerous satisfaction will obviate the risks of its ordinary fulfilment";[1] and he may be right. In Morocco the postponement of the act is closely connected with sexual shame; but we have previously noticed cases in which sexual bashfulness is combined with the feeling of superstitious fear, even though it cannot be looked upon simply as a later development of this feeling.

There are even cases recorded of the defloration of the bride being performed not by the bridegroom himself but by somebody else. An old man from the Ḥiâina told me that the following custom formerly prevailed among the Beni Ulîd, an Arabic-speaking mountain tribe in the neighbourhood of Fez. On the evening of the day when the bride arrived at her new home the bridegroom, accompanied by members of his family and women, went to a neighbouring village to fetch from there a man to spend the first night with the bride and have intercourse with her. When they fetched him the women sang:

Fárḥi ya lálla u zîd, u t-ṭ'áqqab jāk men Bni Ulîd,

Rejoice O lady and continue [to rejoice], and the perforator has come to you from the Beni Ulîd.

According to another account given me by two Berbers from the Ait Waráin and Aiṭ Sáddĕn, it was the custom among the Beni Ulîd that, if the bridegroom was not

[1] Crawley, *The Mystic Rose* (London, 1902), p. 343.

strong enough to deprive the bride of her virginity, he asked his best-man to inform his father about it and tell him to send for some man who was reputed for his virility. A messenger on horseback was despatched to fetch such a man, who was then received by the women singing the following ditty :

Fárḥi ya Ṭâma u zīd, t-tqqab jāk men Bni Ulîd,

Rejoice O Ṭâma and continue [to rejoice], the perforator has come to you from the Beni Ulîd.

He was paid for his service.

Two men from the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi told me that among their neighbours the Aṭ Ziḫri (Zkâra) it is the custom for the chief of the village to be secretly sent for by the bridegroom's family to have intercourse with the bride the first night, unless she be a widow or divorced wife. They said that this is well known to all the neighbouring tribes, though denied by the Aṭ Ziḫri themselves. This statement agrees with the information obtained by M. Mouliéras, although, according to him, the person who is said to perform the act belongs to the caste of the *rusma*, or spiritual leaders of the tribe.[1]

It is impossible for me to decide whether there is

[1] Mouliéras, *Une Tribu Zénète anti-musulmane au Maroc* (*les Zkara*) (Paris, 1905), p. 85 *sqq*. Of the ancient inhabitants of the Canary Islands it has been reported that "no maiden was taken in marriage till she had passed a night with the chief, which was held a great honour" (Alvise Cadamosto, 'Delle navigationi,' in Ramusio, *Navigationi et viaggi*, i. [Venetia, 1554], p. 106); or, that "the night before the bride was presented to her husband, she was delivered to the Guanarteme (or king), who, if he did not chuse to lie with her himself, gave her to the Faycag (a priest or lawyer next in dignity to the king), or to some other noble person of his intimate acquaintance, to enjoy her" (de Abreu de Galindo, *The History of the Discovery and Conquest of the Canary Islands* [London, 1764], p. 69). Abreu, however, says that "the present natives deny that such a custom ever existed among their ancestors"; this being written in 1632.

any truth or not in these accounts from neighbouring tribes; but I think it may be worth our while to notice in this connection certain unusual customs peculiar to other Berbers, even though I do not wish to suggest that they actually are survivals of practices similar to those imputed to the Aṭ Zíḫri and Beni Ulîd. I have spoken of the curious behaviour of the best-man among the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi, who is not only present when the bridegroom has intercourse with the bride, but jokingly claims his share of the pleasure, and of the remarkable intimacy between the bride and the *imsnein* or *amsnâi* among the Aiṭ Yúsi, eating as they do under the cover of the same cloak and using the same spoon. Among the Aiṭ Ndĕr, again, the bridegroom appoints a bachelor or young married man from among his friends to be the bride's "vizier," and this implies that the young man shall spend with her the seven days following on the consummation of the marriage, retiring only at night when the bridegroom comes to her. He keeps in his hand a silk string, the other end of which is tied round the bride's headgear, and he does not leave her alone even when she must go out for a minute. When they have a meal the vizier throws a *ḫâyĕk* (*â'ban*) over their heads, so that she cannot be seen eating by the people who come and go in the division of the tent where they are sitting. They eat out of the same dish, and if the bride is too bashful to help herself, the vizier pushes food into her mouth. When she wants to have a rest she sleeps with her head in his lap. In spite of all this I am emphatically assured that he never takes any undue liberties with her.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CONTINUATION AND END OF THE WEDDING

At Fez, in the afternoon of *nhār ṣ-ṣbaḥ*, "the day of the morning," which follows on *nhār l-ʿörs*, "the day of the wedding," *dār lslān* gets filled with guests. The bridegroom and his company occupy a room by themselves; he is looked upon as a sultan, and one of his friends now appoints his ministers (*wûzâra*), notaries (*kûttˢāb*), soldiers (*ʿâskẓr*), and so forth. In the centre of the house musicians (*alîyẓn*) are playing; tea is drunk, incense is burned, and about sunset a meal is served, after which the guests go home, except a few friends of the bridegroom, who remain overnight. But before the guests part the Sultan and his court pay a visit to *dār l-ʿörs*, where a feast is held the same afternoon.

The female relatives of the bridegroom are sitting there on mattresses in the centre of the house listening to the music of the *ṭabbâlatˢ*, to whom each of them throws some money enveloped in a kerchief. The women of the bride's family and other women have also assembled there, but only as spectators standing at the

door with covered faces. The bride is lifted up by some *ngâgef* and placed on the top of a pile of mattresses (*sder*) opposite the door of the nuptial chamber ; she is beautifully dressed and her face is uncovered, but she keeps her eyes closed. All the women come and look at her, and the bridegroom is sent for. He goes there with the dignity of a sultan, accompanied by his court. Both when he leaves *dar islān* and when he arrives at *dar l-'örs* the soldiers line themselves up in two rows, and when he passes between them they bow and cry out :—*Allâh ibârek fă 'mor sîdi*, "May God bless the life of my lord." When he enters the house the *ṭabbâlat*ˢ strike up a tune. He proceeds into the nuptial chamber and sits down near the door for a few minutes looking at the bride, and then returns to *dar islān* after giving some money to the *ṭabbâlat*ˢ. At sunset supper is served in *dar l-'örs* for the women ; the *ṭabbâlat*ˢ then go away, and the *ḥṭâṭar*, who spend the night in the house, retire to sleep. The bridegroom comes once more from *dar islān* to sup and sleep with the bride. It often happens that the young couple have their first intercourse this night, and in such a case the ceremony of the *sărwal*, described in the previous chapter, takes place on the following day, which is called *ṣbôḥi*.

In the afternoon of this day the *ngâgef* paint the bride's face as before, dress her up in a new costume, and take her out from the *dăḫšûša* to mount the *sder*. The *ḥṭâṭar* sit in the centre of the house, likewise dressed in clothes different from those they wore previously ; for they, too, must every day wear a new suit

of fine clothes, which is generally hired for the purpose. A new band of *ṭabbâlaṭˢ* are playing, and the *ḥṭâṭar* give money to them also. In *dâr ṣlân* the bridegroom's friends are assembled, drinking tea and listening to the music of the *alîyẹn*. When the bride is sitting on the *sder* the bridegroom is again sent for; he comes to look at her with the same ceremonies as the previous afternoon, and returns shortly after. About sunset supper is served both in *dâr l-ʿörs* and *dâr ṣlân*; but the bridegroom takes his supper in the *dâḫšûša* with the bride. On this day he must give her a handsome present consisting of an article of dress.

The next day is called *tˢâni ṣbôḥi*. The ceremonies of the previous day are again repeated, but in the evening the male friends of the bridegroom go away for good, and *dâr ṣlân* is closed. The programme of the following day, which is called *tˢâlẽtˢ ṣbôḥi*, is the same as that of the day before, with the omission of the gathering at *dâr ṣlân* and the procession of the Sultan with his court. The bridegroom now spends his day in the upper part of *dâr l-ʿörs* or in the street, but he must come and look at the bride in the afternoon. The next day—the fifth after *nhâr l-ʿörs*—is called *nhâr ḥall r-ras*, because the hair of the bride is then opened. In the afternoon when she comes down from the *sder*, she goes to the door and sits on a cushion. A *nggâfa* uncovers her head; the bridegroom undoes the end of one of her plaits, puts on her hair a silver coin, which is taken by the *nggâfa* as her fee, and then leaves the room. The *nggâfa* now opens all the little plaits

(*ḍfâyer*, or *ḍâfratˢ*) into which the bride's hair was made on the day before she left her old home—a head-dress called *séltˢa*—and the coiffure of grown-up women, consisting of a plait on either side of the head, takes their place. The same afternoon the bride's mother sends her daughter three tables (*miâdi*), one loaded with small loaves of sweet spiced bread called *qrâšel*, another with hard-boiled eggs, and the third with *lūz mâqli*, that is, roasted almonds which have been put into salt water and afterwards dried. This gift is called *l-ḥâmmąm*, on account of the hot bath which the bride takes on the evening of the same day. The contents of the tables are eaten by the bride, bridegroom, and *ḥṭâṭar*. Later on supper is served, and the bride goes to the hot bath in the company of some *ngâgef*, or she takes the bath in the house.

On the sixth day after *nhār l-ʿörs*, which is called *nhār lą̄-ġsîl* because she was washed the previous evening, the ceremony of climbing the *sder* is preceded by a change of headgear: on her head is placed the so-called *ḥânṭoz*, a triangular pad covered with silk kerchiefs embroidered in gold—a head-dress which is used only by married women. When she is sitting on the *sder* this day, she keeps her eyes open for the first time. After she has exhibited herself for a little while, she returns to the *dāḫšûša* and then mounts the *sder* another time, dressed in different clothes, and this is repeated till she has successively shown herself on the *sder* in seven different costumes. On this day it is usual for the bride's parents to send

to the bridegroom's house some four or six *miâdi*, each loaded with a different kind of baking, besides one or two tables with sugar. There is the pastry called *ka'b ġzel*—crescents made of an icing of pounded almonds, sugar, and cinnamon, covered with an extremely thin coat of paste. There are the *ġrîba*—buns made of flour, sugar, and butter. There is the *mḥánŝa*—icing of pounded almonds, cinnamon, sugar, and butter, rolled out into a long strip which is enveloped in paste and twisted into a spiral. There is the pastry called *brệwat'*—small triangles made of pounded almonds, cinnamon, and sugar, enveloped in a paste and then boiled in oil and, when still hot, poured into a vessel full of honey. There is, finally, the *bsṭêla*—a pie consisting of stewed pigeons placed between two round pieces of dough, which are closed up and baked. Each table, covered up with a *mkeb* and embroidered cloth, is taken to the bridegroom's house on a *nggâfa's* head. This gift is called *lĕ-fṭôr*, "the breakfast."

The food on the tables is left to be eaten at a banquet, which some days afterwards is given in the bridegroom's house, and to which are invited the men of the bride's family as well as those of his own. About noon they assemble and drink tea with *ka'b ġzel* and *ġrîba*, while *alîyẹn* are playing and singing. Then a meal is served consisting of mutton boiled in oil and butter with the addition of saffron and peppercorns, fowls likewise boiled in butter and oil, *mḥánŝa*, *bsṭêla*, and *brệwat'*. Both the bridegroom

and his father take part in the banquet; it is the first occasion on which the latter is present since the commencement of his son's wedding. The day on which this feast is held is called *nhăr lĕ-fṭôr*, but it takes place only if *lĕ-fṭôr* has been sent by the bride's parents; in the opposite case there is no gathering in the bridegroom's house in which the bride's family join before the next religious feast. When the tables are sent back they must not all be empty: on one of them is placed a fine new garment bought by the bridegroom's father or the bridegroom himself as a present for the bride, to whom it is afterwards handed over by her parents.

On the day following *nhăr lą̆-ġsîl* the *ngâgef* and *ḥṭâṭar* leave *dăr l-ŏrs*, and the wedding has now come to an end. Two or three days afterwards some *ngâgef* come and take away the mattresses and all other things that do not belong to the house; the day when this is done is called *nhăr ṭoḥ l-farš*.

In Andjra the day following the fetching of the bride is called *ṣ-ṣbaḥ ḏel-ʿărûṣa u ḏel-ʿărûṣ* or also *ṣ-ṣâbŏŏḥ ḏel-ʿărûṣ*. The *ʿărab*, or married men, however, call it *nhăr t-tʿéṭwīf*, "the day of ambulation." They are again very troublesome. After the meal spoken of above they seize hold of the male relatives of the bride, tie their hands behind their backs, and push them against or through the door of the room where the bride is staying. The *ʿărab* complain of hunger; the *ḥąddâyĭn* give them bread and *rġaif*,

and set free the bound men. The *'árab* now catch and bind men from among the bridegroom's relatives and push them into the room of his parents, who in their turn have to give them food to release the prisoners. The *'árab* then tie up the bridegroom's brother and take him about in the village from house to house amid a continuous banging of guns, beating him at every house so that he cries, and receiving bread and *rĝaif* from the people, who at last succeed in liberating him. After this the *'árab* go to the room where the bride is sitting, discharge volleys of gunpowder at the door, and insist in a most insolent manner on having food, which is also given to them by the *ḥaddáyĭn*; and the same is repeated outside the room of the bridegroom's parents.

In the afternoon the women of the village again visit the bride, and a woman from each house gives her a small sum of money. They are all served with *kŭsksu* and meat and entertained with singing and music by the *fqîra* and her assistants, who in return receive a small gratuity from the women. The bridegroom's mother sends a large quantity of food to the mosque to be eaten by the unmarried scribes who are sitting there with the bridegroom, by the *fqī* and schoolboys, and by the poor, who have their meal outside the mosque. After the sunset prayer the bridegroom leaves the place together with those of the *wazâra* who are scribes, goes to his parents, kisses their hands, and receives their blessing, *Álláh yerḍ 'ălik*. Then he goes to the bride, and the *wazâra* throw into the room the

flags, cushions, carpet, and handkerchiefs which were used for waving, and shut the door. The huntsmen among them fire off their guns outside the room, after which all the *wazâra* retire to the mosque carrying with them four or five dishes of *kŭsksu* presented by the bridegroom's mother.

On the following day, which is called *n-nhār l-mènsi*, "the forgotten day," the bridegroom remains in his room with the bride without going out at all, not even for necessities, his mother bringing the young couple food and also attending on them in every other respect. On this day she presents her daughter-in-law with a dollar. The following three days the bridegroom likewise remains with the bride; if he went out then he would run the risk of being caught by the *'ârab*, who would not set him free until he entertained them with a good meal. On *n-nhār l-mènsi* the bridegroom does not put on his girdle lest the offspring should be sickly; but this is the only day when he is subject to such a taboo.

Both in Andjra and among the Tsūl the guests go away the day after the arrival of the bride, but in the latter tribe the young men remain with the "Sultan" for seven days. This assembly is called *yìslān*. One day they go to the market with music and a white flag, the bridegroom riding and the others on foot. The people there give them henna, figs, raisins, oranges, and other things, but no bread; and the butchers give them money instead of meat.

In the Ḥiáina, on the day following the wedding-night, the "Sultan" and *isl̤an* make a walking tour from village to village, the Sultan with his sword hanging over his shoulder and the hood of his cloak drawn over his face. When they arrive at a house the "vizier" throws into it the white flag which they are carrying with them, saying:—*Hā ʿăwáid l-ʿárab*, "Behold the customs of the Arabs." This is a kind of *ʿár*, which compels the owner of the house to give them both a meal and a sheep or goat or some money. So also when they meet people on the road they throw on them the flag, repeating the same phrase. A similar tour is made every day for seven days in succession, but in the evenings, about sunset, the party return to the bridegroom's village, where they have their supper together, the bridegroom then retiring to sleep with the bride. The sheep and goats are slaughtered and eaten in the village, while the money is kept by the bridegroom till the seven days have come to an end, when he divides it into two equal shares, keeping one share for himself and distributing the rest among the *isl̤an*.

Among the Ulâd Bu-ʿĂzîz the bridegroom and his bachelor friends, after they have partaken of *lĕ-mmúdda dyālt l-mra* and *fâtḥa* has been made, "make *yĭslān*" (*idîru yĭslān*). The bachelors paint the bridegroom's and their own eyes with antimony and the lips with walnut root. The bride gives them her belt and a skin-bag (*ḍâbya*) containing dates and a few silver coins, which she and her female friends present to

them for good luck. These things the young men take with them on the tour which they now make mounted on horses, mules, or donkeys, visiting the tents in their own and neighbouring villages, the bridegroom, or "Sultan," with his face covered as before. They first go to the tent of his family, who ask them, "Give us camels." The *yĭslān* offer them dates and get money in return. This is repeated at the other tents where they call. When the dates come to an end they answer, "The camels are away to Marrakesh"; but money is all the same given to them by the people. While the bridegroom and his friends are away the women both of his and of the bride's village make *t-tăzyîna* on their faces. They paint the bride's and their own eyes with antimony, the cheeks with ochre, and the teeth with walnut root, apply *ḥárgos* (*ḥárqoṣ*)[1] to the eyebrows and the bridge of the nose, and paint with the same colouring matter a line along the nose, another round the cheeks and over the chin, and a third from the under-lip downwards. The women of the bride's village then go home with the exception of her mother.

When the bridegroom and his friends return from their tour and approach his tent, he and two or three others dismount and run fast to the division of it where the bride is sitting. There the bridegroom remains, whilst the bachelors go to amuse themselves with singing and playing, accompanied by the musicians, who have been with them all the time. The tour is

[1] See *supra*, p. 193.

repeated for the following six days, but the bridegroom does not take part in it every day; when he stays at home he is represented by one of his friends who imitates his dress. The party also visit the market-place, where they are presented with eatables and money, and in return call down blessings on the donors. With the money collected on these tours they buy a sheep, some sugar, and tea, as also cotton and silk goods for the bride; and when they return from the market they have a feast in the bridegroom's tent.

Among some of the Berbers the wedding ceremonies likewise include tours made by the bridegroom and his friends. Among the Aiṭ Nḏēr the bridegroom, or "Sultan," and *isḷan* start for their first tour in the morning of the second day after the consummation of the marriage, and, if the wedding is a big one, repeat it during the following four or five days, though not necessarily every day. They walk about from village to village. When a meal is wanted in a tent which they are going to visit, the Sultan sends there in advance two of the *isḷan*, one carrying a gun and the other one a cane with a red [1] silk kerchief belonging to the bride as a flag. The latter beats the tent with the cane, and this compels the inhabitants to prepare a meal, which has to be ready when the others arrive. The entertainment, however, must afterwards be returned in a similar manner, when there is a wedding in the tent of the

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 148.

host; hence custom requires that it should only be asked of a family with an unmarried son. But the older married men,[1] representing rebellious Arabs (*ʿrabĕn*), follow the *isl̤an* and claim the meals for themselves. This leads to wrestling matches between the parties, in which, however, neither the Sultan nor his "vizier" take part; but whoever come off victorious, the defeated ones are also allowed to join in the meal. A little of the meat, eggs, and other food served on these occasions, but neither *sĕksu* nor bread, is every day preserved by the vizier and in the evening given to the bride; and in one of the villages a hen is caught by the *isl̤an*, likewise to be given to her by the bridegroom, who pretends that it is a she-camel he now presents her with. This hen, which is a compulsory present, is not killed, nor are the eggs it lays eaten, and the chickens which come from them are the wife's property. In the villages which they visit the *isl̤an* also receive money and presents of corn, fowls, eggs, and other articles, which are afterwards sold; of the money the bridegroom keeps one-half for himself and distributes the other half among his companions. Every evening they come back to their village, and the bridegroom spends the night with the bride. In the daytime, while he is away, the bride is guarded by her vizier, as has been said above. She kisses the head of every grown-up person who enters the place where she is sitting, and receives some money in return.

Among the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi similar tours, likewise on foot,

[1] Among the Aiṯ Nḏēr the *isl̤an* also comprise the younger married men.

are made by the bridegroom and his bachelor friends. Here also they start on the second day after the bride's arrival, and return every night; but it may be that when the wedding week has come to an end they make another tour to more remote villages, staying away for seven days. They have constant fights with the so-called *leġwâšeš*, or married men—both those from the bridegroom's village and those in the villages they visit—but are themselves supported by all the bachelors. The *leġwâšeš* try to rob the "Sultan" of his slippers and the bride's belt, which he wears round his head, and the "vizier" of his flag; and the *islân* have then to buy back the captured things. Among the Aṯ Ubáḥṭi, also, the money collected on these tours is divided between the bridegroom and the bachelors, who buy powder with their share of it.

We have seen that among the Aiṯ Wäryâgäl and Ait Waráin similar tours are made before the wedding. Among the former it is the custom that on the morning after the consumption of the marriage the bridegroom a second time enters his room, after the women who came to examine the bride's clothes have left; and he now stays there till the wedding week has passed. When he comes out again, he no longer has his head covered with the hood of his cloak. On the next market-day he goes out and buys either a head-kerchief (*ḏâsĕbniṯ*) or a silver ring (*ḏḫâṯend*) as a present for his wife.

Among the Ait Waráin, on the other hand, the bridegroom and his bachelor friends, who sit together

the first day after the wedding-night, go out to hunt on the second morning, and stay away for the rest of the day; and the same thing is repeated the two following mornings. If the bridegroom's family are not particularly well-off, the wedding festivities now come to an end, but otherwise they may last for another couple of days, which are spent in eating, singing, and playing.

Among the Aiṭ Sáddĕn the wedding festivities come to a close with the following ceremony. A sister, paternal cousin, or other female friend of the bridegroom, either married or unmarried, takes to him a palmetto tray (*ĭswi*) with dried fruit—figs, raisins, and dates—and some silver money varying from a quarter to two dollars. Carrying the tray on her head she goes to him accompanied by a crowd of women and men, who are singing, playing, dancing, and discharging volleys of gunpowder. He is sitting in the house of a relative or friend, with the hood of his cloak drawn over his head, and when they arrive there the woman hands the tray to the *imsnéin*, who put it down in front of him, remove the silk kerchief covering it, and pour out the contents. The bridegroom takes some money from his bag, ties it up in the kerchief, and puts it on the empty tray as a present to the woman, at the same time giving her his blessing just as the Sultan blesses his subjects. The sum which he presents to her may even amount to some ten dollars, if she is an old friend of his. In very many cases the same ceremony is then repeated by other

sisters, female cousins, or friends of the bridegroom, their number largely depending on his ability or willingness to give a handsome present in return for theirs; whereas if he is a poor man who has no sister it may happen that nothing at all is offered him. The woman's present of dried fruit is called *ṭiswit*, diminutive of *ṭswi*, and is considered to bring good luck; it is distributed by the bridegroom among the bachelors. In this ceremony, which is performed either on the first or second day after the fetching of the bride, only people from the bridegroom's village take part, the guests from other villages having already gone away. For some time the bridegroom still spends his days in the house of a friend, being shy of his parents, and visits the bride only at night, until, on the sixth day after her arrival, he is taken to his parents to kiss their heads; and on the following day he for the first time after the wedding appears in public with uncovered face.

Among the Aiṭ Yúsi the day after the pair have had connection is spent by the bride in the company of the *imsnein* in the tent, where the wedding is still continued. In the evening she is again taken away by the *imsnein* to meet the bridegroom, and on their return they eat together a dish of *úgᵊnu*, as on the night before. The following day the guests and *imsnein* leave the place, and henceforth the pair spend the nights together in a section of the tent behind a curtain, though secrecy is still preserved for some time. In other cases, again, the bridegroom, who had his first intercourse with the bride in a place outside the village, comes the next night

stealthily to his tent and disappears at daybreak; and this is repeated the three following nights or longer.

Among the Igliwa the bridegroom for a few days neither walks about in the village nor does any work, but spends his time sitting with his friends. The duration of the wedding festivities depends on the means of the bridegroom and his family, lasting sometimes a night only and sometimes three or four days. Among the Ait Támĕldu the guests are entertained by the bridegroom's family for three days after the evening of the bride's arrival; on the fourth day they are served with food from other households in the village, and the next morning they go away. Meanwhile the bridegroom is sitting in a special room together with his bachelor friends, without showing himself to the people. Even on the occasion when he threw dried fruit and bread on the blanket held over the bride and on the crowd around, he was not seen by them.

It is not merely out of bashfulness but, no doubt, also for fear of evil influences that the bridegroom thus lives in retirement for some time or covers up his face.[1] He, as well as the bride, is still considered to be in a

[1] Among the Berbers of Ouargla, in Algeria, "pendant les sept jours qui vont suivre la consommation du mariage, les nouveaux mariés ne peuvent, sous aucun prétexte, sortir de la maison nuptiale" (Biarnay, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère de Ouargla* [Paris, 1908], p. 474). Among the Touareg of the Ahaggar, during the same period, "les nouveaux époux ne quittent pas leur tente: on vient les y distraire et leur rendre visite" (Benhazera, *Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar* [Alger, 1908], p. 18). Among the Bedawin of Palestine bride and bridegroom "remain in seclusion for eight days, or retire to the hills and live alone for a month" (Robinson Lees, *The Witness of the Wilderness* [London, 1909], p. 123). *Cf. Genesis*, xxix. 27:—"Fulfil the week of this one."

more or less delicate condition and exposed to supernatural dangers. In the Ḥiáina he wears throughout the wedding week the charms which he assumed at his *rbēṭ*.[1] Among the Ait Waráin, Aiṭ Nḏēr, and Aṭ Ubáḫṭi he carries his sword or pistol for the same period, every night hanging it up on the wall at the head of the bride or putting it on the bed or underneath the pillow. In various Arab and Berber tribes (Ulâd Bu-ʿĂzîz, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi, etc.) he keeps the backs of his slippers pulled up till the end of the same week, in some tribes (Aiṭ Sáddĕn, Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Nḏēr) even leaving the slippers on his feet at night; and the same is the case with the bride. There is fear lest some malevolent person should get hold of them and thereby be able to work magic on their owner. An old man from the Aiṭ Yúsi told me that once when he, as a bridegroom, removed his slippers (*ibúrḫsĕn*), some enemy took them away, with the result that he no longer loved his bride; she now appeared to him like a black cow, and he divorced her soon afterwards. In the same tribe bride and bridegroom protect themselves against magic by putting a needle in their right slipper; and it is the custom that the slippers worn by them should never be repaired. Among the Aiṭ Nḏēr and Aṭ Ubáḫṭi they must abstain from bathing throughout the week of the wedding, and the bridegroom is not allowed to have his head shaved. Among the Ait Waráin he has his head shaved only when he goes to visit his parents-in-law a fortnight after the girdling

[1] See *supra*, p. 104 *sq*.

of his wife. Among the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi and Ait Waráin he must not change his clothes. In Andjra the bride has her hair open during the wedding, and among the Ulâd Bu-ʿĂzîz the same is the case with the bridegroom's mother and the other women of his family as well.[1]

The bride commonly remains in her seclusion till the sixth or seventh day after her arrival.[2] On this day there are certain ceremonies which indicate the end of the wedding and the beginning of ordinary married life.

In Andjra the bridegroom on the sixth day saddles his mule and, accompanied by a married sister or some other married woman from among his relatives, goes to visit his parents-in-law; he takes with him some *rġaif*, ordinary bread, cooked chickens, eggs, and dried fruit, to give to them—a present called *ṯ-ṭâjīn ḏel-ʿărûṣ*, "the earthenware dish of the bridegroom." He kisses them on the head, and spends the night in their house. Next day he returns in the company of his mother-in-law, who takes with her on his mule the same kinds of food as he gave her and her husband; and the unmarried women and little girls of the village go with

[1] The following taboo is mentioned by the Rev. C. T. Wilson in his book on *Peasant Life in the Holy Land* (London, 1906), p. 114:—"In some parts of the country neither bride nor bridegroom may cross a stream for a period of seven days after the wedding, as this would be most unlucky, and would mean the cutting off the succession, the Arabic idiom for crossing a stream being that of cutting it."

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 289 n.; Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* (Paris, 1908), p. 54:—"Dans les campements, un endroit spécial dans la tente appelé *ḫullah* est disposé pour la fiancée . . .; c'est là qu'elle passera huit jours en comptant comme premier *le soir de l'entrée*." The Bedouins of Sinai think it decent that a virgin bride should remain at least one fortnight in the interior of her tent, leaving it only at night (Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys* [London, 1830], p. 152).

them, so that they also shall marry. On their arrival they are received by the bridegroom's parents, who kiss the bride's mother on the head. She enters the room alone where her daughter is sitting, and the latter, who now sees her mother for the first time after the beginning of the wedding, repeatedly kisses her head and hand and asks the mother to bless her. Subsequently the room is filled with the girls who came from the bride's village and the girls and little boys of the bridegroom's village, whose hands she kisses and who in return kiss her hand. But before the others enter, the bridegroom's mother takes into the room a palmetto tray with *rġaif*, ordinary bread, and dried fruit, out of the food brought from the bride's old home, as also eight candles provided by herself. She puts a loaf of bread on her daughter-in-law's head, and ties another loaf on her back, in order to give her *baraka*. Standing on the tray with the rest of the food at her feet and with her hands over her head, the bride has now her belt put round her waist by an uncircumcised boy, while the other little boys encircle her with the lighted candles in their hands. She then crosses her arms over her chest and in this position eats some bread and *rġaif* put into her hands by the boy who belted her. The loaves of bread which she had on her head and back are deposited in her trunk, as there is *baraka* in them. Food is given to all the people in the room, particularly the little boys, while the men of the village are entertained with a meal in the mosque, partly out of the provisions brought by the bride's mother. This day is called

n-nhăr s-sába' ḏel-'ărûṣ u ḏel-'ărûṣa, "the seventh day of the bridegroom and bride," or *nhar l-ḥăzăm*, "the day of the girdle." The girdling of the bride takes place in the afternoon.

At Tangier the bride is belted in the evening of the seventh day after her arrival by two little boys, to each of whom is given a raw egg and some dried fruit; I was told that the object of this ceremony is to make her a mother of sons and her life white.[1] On the same day the bridegroom also resumes his girdle,[2] which he has not worn since he had his hot bath previous to the arrival of the bride; and he celebrates this occasion with a garden party for his friends. Among the Tsūl and Ait Waráin the bride is girdled on the morning of the seventh day, among the former by a little boy—for the same reason as in Andjra and Tangier—and among the latter by the bridegroom. In other tribes (Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Sáddĕn, Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Nḏĕr, Aṭ Ubáḥṭi) the girdling of the bride takes place on the sixth day after her arrival. In the Ḥiáina, where this ceremony is called *lă-ḥzâm dyâl lă-'rûṣa*, it is performed by some

[1] The Shareefa of Wazan (*My Life Story* [London, 1911], p. 137 *sq.*) gives the following description of the belting of the bride at Tangier:—"She stands on the bed over a dish containing dried fruits and sweetmeats, and two little boys wind the belt round her waist with the aid of a professional dresser, who in turn hands the dish and contents to the children. At the same time the bridegroom's mother gives a piece of silver to each boy. The toilette and belting being completed, the bride is assisted from the bed; now she may open her eyes, and, with lighted candles, music, 'zahrits,' incense and scent sprinklers before and behind, the tour of inspection is commenced. The bride stops at the doorway of each room, and on arriving at the kitchen door a fish is produced, and a pretence is made of scraping it on her foot—a symbol of plenty in the culinary department." For the use of fish in connection with weddings, see *infra*, p. 299.

[2] *Cf.* Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Les Cérémonies du mariage chez les indigènes de l'Algérie* (Paris, 1901), p. 74.

respectable elderly woman, by preference a shereefa, but in no case by the bride's mother or mother-in-law. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn, who call the day in question *ass úḥăzzạm*, "the day of the girdle," or *ssiḥă' n-tslit*, "the seventh [day] of the bride," she is belted by her girl-friends, among the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi by the woman who has been attending her, and among the Aiṭ Yúsi and Aiṭ Nḍēr by herself.[1]

The girdling of the bride is evidently looked upon as a somewhat dangerous undertaking. Among the Ait Waráin the bridegroom gives her a small sum of money as soon as he has tied the belt round her waist, just as he gave her money after plaiting her hair. In the Ḥiáina the ceremony is performed in the presence of women who are playing on tambourines (*bnâder* and *ts'arj*) and making a quivering noise, and the same day there is a sacrifice, called *dbeḥts lă-ḥzậm*, which reminds us of the little sacrifice made to destroy the *bạs* emanating from the loosened belt of a strange woman who spends a night in another person's house. I was told that among the Arabs of the Ulâd Jâma' in the neighbourhood of Fez the girdling of the bride is likewise followed by the slaughter of a sheep or goat: she herself keeps hold of the animal when the bridegroom cuts its throat, and he then wipes the bloody knife on

[1] Among the Beni Snūs in Algeria the young woman resumes her belt when the seven days of marriage have passed (Destaing, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Beni-Snous* [Paris, 1907], p. 290). At Mazouna, a small town in the same country, the bride is on the seventh day solemnly girdled by the women of her family; "on fait, ce jour-là, de petits gâteaux de semoule, *therid*, qui sont vendus un sou à chacune des femmes présentes" (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, in *Revue des traditions populaires*, xxii. [1907], p. 53).

her clothes. The burning candles and loaves of bread in the Andjra ceremony look like safeguards against evil influences, and so does the distribution of bread or dried fruit there and at Tangier, charity being a method of purification.[1] Among the Aṭ Ubáḥṭi the woman attending the bride not only puts the girdle round her but also on the same occasion paints her with henna, ochre, antimony, and walnut root. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi the bride, after girdling herself, smears her hair with henna and covers it with seven kerchiefs. Among the Aiṭ Sáddĕn the bride's girl-friends, after they have belted her, give her antimony and walnut root to smear on her eyes and lips, one of them paints the design called *izrîṛn* with saffron on her face, and they apply the same cosmetics to themselves and each other. Yet though these ceremonies of painting seem to have a purificatory origin, they may serve a wider purpose of purification than merely neutralising the dangers resulting from the girdling of the bride. This is undoubtedly the case with certain other ceremonies still to be mentioned.

In Andjra, on the evening of *n-nhār s-sába'* the bride takes one of the loaves which she put into the trunk and goes to the spring which supplies the household with water; she goes there alone and in secret, without speaking to anybody or looking back. She drops some pieces of the loaf on her way, puts some

[1] See Westermarck, 'The Popular Ritual of the Great Feast in Morocco,' in *Folk-Lore*, xxii. (1911), p. 135 *sqq*. See *infra*, p. 370.

round the spring, and throws others into the water, saying, *Ana mĕḍ ḍyāf llah u mĕḍ ḍyâfkum, a mwâlin l-blād*, "I am [one] of the guests of God and of your guests, O owners of the land." Being a stranger, she thus places herself under the protection of the spirits and saints of the district. She also gives seven pieces of bread to the dog of the house, putting them one after the other on the top of her foot and letting the dog take them from there so as to make it friendly. From the spring she brings back a bottle of water to wash herself with, after putting salt into it as a protection against *jnūn*. Next morning before sunrise she goes secretly, accompanied only by a young brother of her husband, to the patron saint of the village or the *sîyid* nearest the house, taking with her a cock, one-half of the other loaf in her trunk, a *ḍṛhạm*, two candles, some gum-benjamin, a little charcoal for burning it, and matches. She addresses the saint with the words, *Ana mĕḍ ḍyāf llah u mĕḍ ḍyâfạk, a sîdi l-wâli*, "I am [one] of the guests of God and of your guests, O my lord the saint;" as a stranger she does not yet know, or is not supposed to know, the name of the saint. The cock is killed by the boy, and the knife with which it is done, and also the bread and *ḍṛhạm*, are left at the *sîyid*. The other half of the loaf is kept for ever after in the trunk, so that there shall always be bread in the house.

In the Ḥiáina the bride, as soon as she has been girdled, goes, with her face still covered up, to a river, spring, or well, in the midst of the women, who go on

with their music and quivering noise. Her mother-in-law takes with her some *bûšiyąr*, which she breaks into pieces and gives to the bride and other women to eat—a ceremony called *le-ftˢâtˢ*, meaning "the crumbs." The bride fills a large earthenware bottle (*bûš*) with water and carries it home on her back. With some of it the *uzîra* washes her right foot; and now she no longer keeps her face covered. It was said that the water washes away her "sins" (*dnūb*).

Among the Aiṭ Yúsi the bride, after belting herself, goes with the skin water-bottle (*diddiḏ*) of the household to the place from which they generally get their water, and other women, married or unmarried, accompany her, likewise carrying with them their water-bottles. She fills her own bottle with water and then six others, in the hopes that by doing so she will give birth to seven sons. A similar custom prevails among the Aiṭ Sádděn, where the procession consists of all the women and children of the village, who are singing and clapping their hands.

In Aglu, when the week of the wedding is finished, the bride goes to a spring with other women and a boy whose parents are still alive. He gives her twice water to drink from his hands and, after filling them a third time, washes her face with the water. She then fills her bottle from the spring and carries it back on her shoulder. The procession is headed by the *luzîra*, who holds in her hand a pail (*tálmărjĕlt*) containing *tummit*, a mixture of roasted corn and salt, and of this she gives a little to anybody they meet on the road.

It seems obvious that these water ceremonies, at least in part, are meant to rid the bride of the *bąs* still clinging to her; and when they follow immediately on the girdling they are also perhaps intended as safeguards against the particular dangers resulting from this act. I was told that among the Ulâd Jâmaʿ bride and bridegroom, after the sacrifice spoken of above, have a bath in a river or spring with their clothes on and throw water over each other. The idea of purification may also underlie the distribution of *bûšiyąr* and *tummit*, like that of bread and dried fruit at the ceremony of belting. The purifying character of water makes the fetching of it the most suitable beginning of the young wife's household duties. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi she also grinds some wheat and prepares the supper, which consists of *afttäl* (*sĕksu*) with salt butter and milk. Among the Aiṭ Sáddĕn the young wife goes alone to fetch some palmetto leaves, of which she makes a small rope; this is the first handwork she does in her married state, and its object is to bring to the house many horses, mules, and cattle, each of which is, as usual, to be tied up with a small rope at night. Among the Tsūl the young wife likewise goes and gathers some fresh palmetto leaves after she has been girdled, and this was said to make her days "nice and green" and the year blessed. In the evening she prepares the supper herself.

Among the Ait Waráin the girdling of the bride is followed by the following curious ceremony, to which she and her mother-in-law are subject. The bachelors

tie them each to a *tărkizt*—one of the vertical poles supporting the roof—by twisting a rope round the woman's waist and the pole and pulling it at both ends in opposite directions so that it tightens. It is believed that she who first cries out will be ruled over by the other.

Among the Ulâd Bu-'Ăzîz the bride spends the week of the wedding behind the curtain in the tent, and only leaves her prison on the evening when that period comes to an end; but she is still bashful and covers her face, except the eyes. On this occasion her mother, outside the tent, entertains the women of the place, including her daughter, with a supper consisting of *bûšiyār* and dates, and next morning she goes back to her home.

At Fez on the ninth day after *nhār l-'ŏrs* the young wife must make bread, which, as usual, is sent to a public oven to be baked, and her husband buys some fish which he gives her to prepare. The bread is made in order that there shall always be much bread in the house, and the fish is supposed to bring prosperity; to eat fish is generally considered to be lucky. In his description of the marriage customs of Fez some four centuries ago Leo Africanus writes:—

"So soone as the new married man goeth foorth of the house (which is for the most part on the seuenth day after the mariage) he buieth great plentie of fishes, which he causeth his mother or some other woman to cast vpon his wiues feete; and this they, from an ancient superstitious custome, take for a good boading."[1]

[1] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, ii. (London, 1896), p. 451.

CHAPTER IX

LATER CEREMONIES AND TABOOS

WHEN the wedding and the ceremonies mentioned at the end of the previous chapter are over, the young wife may still for some time be subject to certain restrictions. At Fez she must remain inside the house for two months, or at least six weeks, not even being allowed to go on the roof. At Tangier she was formerly obliged to stay at home for a whole year, but this period has been reduced to three or four months. In Andjra and among the Aiṭ Wäryâġäl there seems to be a rule that she should keep to the house and its immediate neighbourhood for forty days, but in the former tribe at least the time, as a matter of fact, varies considerably according to the circumstances.

As soon as the young wife is allowed to leave her new home she pays a visit to her parents, in certain tribes on the very day she has been girdled. In some places it is the custom for her to be accompanied by her husband, in others not; but if he does not go with her he may afterwards make a formal call alone on his parents-in-law.

At Fez the young husband does not accompany his wife when she goes to visit her parents, but two or three days afterwards he sends them the so-called *nŏfqa*, consisting of a lot of chickens, sugar, and tea. After another couple of days she goes to the hot bath, and a *nggâfa* then dresses her up as a bride, though not in any of the clothes she wore at the wedding. When she has spent a few days with her parents she returns home after sunset in the company of the *nggâfa*, who holds a wax candle in her hand, and four black women, who carry the same number of *miâdi*, loaded with chickens, meat, *ka'b ġzel*, and *ġrîba* respectively. This present of food from her parents is called *lă-'ŝa*, "the supper." The following day, in the early afternoon, her husband gives a little feast, to which he invites his father- and brothers-in-law, as also some friends. The young wife is again dressed up in a new costume by the *nggâfa* and then, for the first time, ascends to the roof of the house, where she remains till sunset; and the same ceremony is repeated the two following days.

At Tangier the occasion when the young wife for the first time leaves the house and goes to see her parents is called *l-ḫârja*, "the going out." She takes with her some food as a present for her mother, who gives a feast with her friends as invited guests. Next day a feast is given for the girl-friends of the young wife. She remains with her parents for about four days or a week, and, before she leaves, presents her mother with materials for a dress. Afterwards her husband makes a call on her parents.

In Andjra the young wife visits her parents in the company of her husband and sister-in-law, and takes with her some bread, dried fruit, and other food. This is called *z-ziâra ḏel-ʿărûṣa*, "the reverent visit of the bride." Her mother gives of the bread, which is saturated with the *baraka* of the bride, to the people of the village, who bring food as hospitality to her daughter. This visit lasts for about a week.

Among the Tsūl, about a month after the girdling of the bride, she and her husband go to kiss the heads of her parents and other members of her family. He takes with him some flour and meat or, if his parents-in-law live near, a dish of *kŭsksu* and meat. Next morning after breakfast he again goes away, whereas his wife remains with her parents for five or six days, if they live at some distance from her new home.

Among the Ulâd Bu-ʿĂzîz two or three months elapse before the young wife goes to see her parents, accompanied by her mother- and brother-in-law, but not her husband. She gives to her father a sheep as well as some flour and dates, and he in return presents her with a cow. This visit, which lasts for five or six days, is called *ḏẖōl l-ḫâima*, "the entering into the tent."

In the Ḥiâina, on the other hand, the young wife pays her visit on the evening of the day after she has been girdled. Her mother- or sister-in-law accompanies her, and they take with them some flour and sugar and the meat of a sheep slaughtered for this occasion. On their arrival her mother washes her daughter's feet

with milk, which was said to be a good thing to do. The daughter kisses her parents on the forehead and removes their slippers, which she kisses seven times; and if there are brothers or sisters she kisses their hands. Other relatives soon assemble in the house and are received by the young wife with a kiss on the head. Supper is served, henna is pounded, and the wife and other women, with the exception of her mother, smear it on both sides of their hands. In the morning she goes out and sprinkles henna on the cattle, sheep, goats, and horses, which is supposed to be good for them, as there is still *baraka* in the young wife. This visit has from its chief feature, the kissing of the head, got the name *ḥăbb r-rûṣ*. The wife spends one night only in her parents' house, and then goes with her companion to visit other relatives in the village; and all those who received *réšwa* when she was given in marriage now present to her money or articles of dress. These visits may take a week or more. Before she leaves the place her father gives her a bullock or cow, meat, flour, *bûšiyar*, sugar, figs, and so forth. On her way back she is also accompanied by her own mother and her father-in-law, who have come after the others to pay the remaining portion of the *ṣdaq* so that the young wife shall not be detained but be allowed to return to her husband. Her homeward journey, too, is made in the evening, as she is still considered to be very susceptible to the evil eye. Her mother is, on her arrival at her daughter's new home, painted with henna, and the young husband comes and kisses her on the forehead and

cheeks and gives her some money ; this, however, he only does reluctantly, as he is much ashamed to meet her, and he goes away at once. She stays in his house for three days, and when she leaves she is presented with a silk kerchief, sugar, money, or a sheep. Some days afterwards the young husband quite empty-handed pays an evening call to his father-in-law. He is received by his mother-in-law, who offers him some milk to drink, and then kisses his father-in-law on the head without saying a word in answer to his greeting. He shows very great bashfulness and goes away as soon as he has had his supper.

Later on the young couple together go to visit the wife's parents, but this visit is preceded by some interesting ceremonies which take place on the fortieth day after the arrival of the bride, *nhar l-arbaʿin*. Accompanied by her mother- and brother-in-law, the young wife goes in the afternoon of that day to the thicket to procure fuel. She removes her girdle and slippers and puts the former on the heap of cut wood, so that the last *baṣ* shall go there and subsequently be burned. She then belts herself again and carries away the wood barefooted. When they approach the village she passes her load on to her mother-in-law's back and puts on her slippers. On her entering the house her sister-in-law, or some other unmarried girl who lives there, sprinkles water over her and puts on her a pair of new slippers and a new girdle instead of the old ones, which she has been wearing since her wedding, and which are now given away to some poor woman,

as they must never again be used by the wife.[1] I was told that the object of this ceremony, also, is to remove her *bąs*. When her husband comes home in the evening she takes off his slippers and puts them over her own and thus goes and fetches a new pair for him, which she slips on his feet; this is supposed to make the young couple friendly to one another and to prevent divorce. The old slippers are given away to some poor man. The husband now slaughters a sheep or goat in the presence of his wife only, who assists him by keeping her hand on the animal's throat, and with its blood they seven times paint the heels of their feet (which during the wedding were covered by the backs of their slippers), so that the *bąs* shall go away from them. Half of the meat is served with *ṭă'âm* (*sĕksu*) at the supper, in which the schoolmaster and scribes and some shereef of the village partake as invited guests, and after the meal *fâṭ'ḥa* is made. The same evening the husband goes and hangs the lungs and heart of the slaughtered animal at a *sîyid* near by, and brings from there some earth to be suspended at his wife's belt to keep it "clean." When the guests have gone, the girl who sprinkled water on the young wife opens her hair, washes it with hot water into which she has put pounded *qrônfĕl* and *sĕnbel*, combs it, and does it again into two plaits; she then fumigates herself with *ḥărmel* underneath her clothes, which reminds us of the earlier precautions taken when the hair of the bride was plaited.

[1] *Cf.* Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1900), § 570, p. 376:—"Die ersten Schuhe, welche die junge Frau abreisst, dürfen nicht weggegeben, sondern müssen weggeworfen werden, sonst wird sie unglücklich."

She is accompanied to the door of her room by the young wife carrying a burning lamp or candle, and when she enters the room the young wife blows out the light—"to blow out the *jnūn*," as I was told—and goes in darkness to her husband. Next morning the wife boils the other half of the meat in water which has been in the house over-night, and with fuel from the wood procured by her the day before, thereby boiling and burning away the *bąs*. This meat is then put into a dish (*gáṣ'a*) of *ṭă'âm* and taken by the young couple to the wife's parents, with whom they are now going to spend six days in succession. During the first three nights they do not sleep together. On the fourth day the wife's mother smears henna mixed with a little salt on her daughter's hands, feet, and hair, and paints her eyes with antimony, her lips with walnut root, and her cheeks with ochre; and this painting with antimony, walnut root, and ochre is repeated the two following nights. She now sleeps with her husband for the rest of the time, and has every day a hot bath in a little enclosure made for this purpose, the so-called *ḥámmąm n-nwâla*. The mixing of salt with the henna, which is practised only on the present occasion and at weddings, shows that the young wife is still supposed to be in danger of being struck by *jnūn*.

Among the Aiṭ Sáddĕn the young wife is on the day after she was girdled taken to her father's house by her mother, who from the beginning of the wedding has been with her daughter during the day, and also spent the nights in the village if her own home is remote.

The wife kisses her father on the head—a ceremony called *asûḏĕn iḫf*—and gives him *ṭṭă'âm* (*sĕksu*) with meat or some kind of bread or pastry—a present called *ṯărzziṯ*. She stays in his house for a night or two, and when she leaves he gives her a sheep or cow, or perhaps even more than one, or a sum of money—a gift which is named *asĕfăḏ* because she is "sent off" with it. If she has no mother she is accompanied by her mother- or sister-in-law. The young husband, on the other hand, waits a month or more before he visits his father-in-law, or does not call on him at all; and if he goes he takes no present with him.

Among the Aiṯ Yúsi the wife visits her parents the day she has been girdled if they live in the neighbourhood, otherwise later on; and she stays with them for a day or two. She gives them as *ṯărzziṯ* some *ḥarṭêṭa* —that is, pancakes made of flour and butter but without sugar—or something else of the kind. She is accompanied by her mother-, sister-, or brother-in-law, but not her husband, who neither visits nor speaks to his parents-in-law for a considerable time, perhaps a couple of years.

Among the Aiṯ Nḏĕr the husband and wife go together to the parents of the latter on the day after she has put on her belt or later; if they live far away the visit may even be postponed till a much later date. The young couple give the old folk a *ṯărzeft* of nice bread and dried fruit, kiss them on the head, and remain with them for a day or two or longer. A portion of the bread and fruit, however, is distributed

among the people of the village to give them the benefit of the *baraka* of the young wife. Before her departure her father presents her with a ewe or she-goat, or money to buy one—the animal must be a female that it shall give birth to young ones, and thus increase her private property; and her mother gives her some bread made with butter and dried fruit, if she has any—a present which is also called *tărzeft*.

Among the Ait Waráin the newly-married couple pay a visit to the wife's parents a fortnight after she has been girdled, taking with them as presents a slaughtered sheep, flour, and butter. On their arrival they are received by the mother with a bowl (*táqnušt*) of milk, of which they drink, holding the bowl with both hands; this is said to bring good luck. The young husband kisses his father- and mother-in-law on the head and presents to the latter a dollar or two. A feast is given with other relatives as invited guests. This visit, which is called *tărrzeft*, lasts for three days.

Among the Aṯ Ubáḫṭi the visit to the wife's parents takes place as soon as she has been girdled, or on the young husband's return from his tour to other villages. They are accompanied by his mother and the *ăuzir*. The husband takes with him presents of sugar and tea and a live sheep, which he slaughters on their arrival; and both he and his wife kiss the heads of her parents. Next morning he and the *ăuzir* go away, whereas his wife and mother remain with his parents-in-law for two or three days more. When they leave they are pre-

sented with some *ṭášarqīṭ* (thin bread made with salt butter) and a portion of the slaughtered sheep, raw or boiled, which they take away with them. This present is called *ṭámḏwilṭ*.

Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġäl, when the forty days mentioned above have come to an end, the husband slaughters a goat, and the wife boils its meat in oil and makes a lot of bread. They then load the meat and bread on two mules and take it to the wife's parents. Of the bread they must give a loaf to every party of people, and half a loaf to every single person, whom they meet on the road. Should they refrain from doing so, the people they met would make a cairn, thrust a cane with a flag into it, and dung over the stones; this is looked upon as a powerful curse, which will probably make the couple childless. Subsequently the wife's father gives a loaf of the bread to each household in the village, for there is *baraka* in it. The husband kisses his parents-in-law on the crown of the head; he is very bashful, and only speaks to them in a low voice. After a couple of days he goes away, whereas his wife stays with her parents for a whole month, and then he comes back to fetch her. At their departure her parents present her with a cow or some goats and a lot of bread, of which she gives a loaf to each household in her husband's village. The present given to her parents is called *ḏărzeft*, and so is also the bread which they give to her.

Among the Ait Tăměldu a whole year passes before the couple pay a visit to the wife's parents. They take

with them a present of bread, dates, and henna, and kiss the old folk on the head. The husband goes away in the evening; the wife, on the other hand, remains with her parents for two or three days.

There is commonly much reserve in a man's relations to his parents-in-law and other members of his wife's family. In Aglu he kisses his mother-in-law on the head when she comes to his house a few days after the fetching of the bride, but he refrains from speaking to her for some time; and even in the future he generally avoids both her and his father-in-law, neither speaking to them much nor eating with them. Among the Igliwa, also, the bridegroom kisses his mother-in-law on the head when he first meets her after her arrival at his house, but shows much bashfulness in her presence. In the beginning he must not speak to her, and he can never eat with her, unless she comes and lives with her daughter in his house. So also he for some time refrains from speaking to his father- and brothers-in-law, and even later he never eats with them, nor is he seen together with them in public; should any of them come where he is sitting with other persons, he at once gets up and leaves the company. If a man meets a friend whom he has not seen for a while, he jokingly says:—*Maḳ ătĕrggult fillî, ĭsak^{v} gig ăddŭggal*,"" Why have you been running away from me, am I your brother-in-law?" Among the Aiṭ Nḍēr a married man does not eat with his father-in-law, and is also shy of his mother-in-law, though he is allowed to

see her face. Among the Ait Waráin, I was told, he is even shyer of his mother- than of his father-in-law. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâğäl he speaks to his parents-in-law but does not sit together with them if they meet outside their own houses, and when he meets them he pulls the hood of his cloak over his face. There are similar customs among the Arabic-speaking tribes. In Andjra, it is true, a man may both talk and eat even with his mother-in-law, but he is shy of her and the rest of her family, and must speak no improprieties in the presence of either his parents- or brothers-in-law; and if an indecent conversation is carried on when his father-in-law is present, he must leave the company. Among the Ulâd Bu-'Äzîz a man refrains from eating together with or in the presence of his father-, mother-, or grown-up brother-in-law, if they are of another village. If, on the other hand, his father- and brothers-in-law are of his own village, he is not ashamed to eat with them, but there must be no indecent talk in their presence; in case anything indecent is said, he goes away at once, and if it has reference to himself he may even complain of it to his governor, with the result that the offender is compelled to pay a fine. He has much respect for his father-in-law; there is a saying that, if a man has no saint in the place where he is living, his father-in-law is his saint—*Li ma 'âddu fqēr nsîbu hûwa fqêru.* Between a man and his mother-in-law there is mutual shyness. They speak to each other, but not much, and only sensible words—*l-klăm l-ma'qōl*; if they are from different villages they avoid looking at each

other, while if they are from the same village she covers her face and refrains from eating in his presence, though he may eat in hers. In the Ḥiáina a man does not speak to his parents-in-law if his own parents are alive, otherwise he begins to converse with them when a month or so has passed. He is still shyer of his father-in-law than of his mother-in-law, and also avoids a grown-up brother-in-law. At Fez, on the other hand, the intercourse between a married man and his father- and brothers-in-law is not subject to any special restrictions, but for a couple of years after the wedding he avoids meeting his mother-in-law; if she comes to his house to see her daughter he must retire, although he may speak to her from a distance. He is called the *nsīb* of his father-, mother-, and brothers-in-law, and of his wife's paternal and maternal uncles; each of these persons is also his *nsīb* or, in the case of his mother-in-law, *nsîba*, and collectively they are his *nsāb*. Another name for them is *lâ-ḫtʿān*. In the Ḥiáina a husband is the *nsīb* of all the persons, men and women, who belong to his wife's community, whether related by blood or not, and they on their part are his *nsāb*.

I was told that a man would naturally be shy of the persons with whose daughter or sister he has sexual intercourse, and this I take to be the true explanation of the restrictions in question. I believe that they ultimately spring from that feeling of sexual aversion which prevails between members of the same domestic circle, with the exception, of course, of husband and wife. This aversion, to which I trace the customs and

laws prohibiting incest,[1] has also, in my opinion, been the chief cause of the feeling of sexual shame, which is particularly strong precisely inside the family but, owing to the influence of early sentiments and taboos, has extended far beyond its limits, throwing a veil of secrecy over sexual relations in general. Especially in a country where the sexes are separated from each other to such a degree as they are in Morocco, the mutual relations into which a man and woman enter by their marriage are looked upon as something to be ashamed of, and this feeling of shame would naturally display itself very acutely in the presence of persons who would not only at once come to think of those relations but feel aversion to the very idea of them. It seems to me quite clear that the young man's shyness of his parents-in-law is psychologically connected with his shyness of his own parents in all matters relating to his marriage. This shyness shows itself from the moment when the marriage is first thought of till the wedding has passed and even longer. We have seen that there is no conversation on the subject between the young man and his parents, or at least his father, and that he sometimes entirely avoids the latter from the day when the arrangements for his marriage commence.[2] At Fez the father keeps away

[1] See *infra*, p. 370 *sqq*.

[2] *Cf.* Menouillard, 'Un Mariage dans le Sud Tunisien (Matmata),' in *Revue Tunisienne*, ix. (1902), p. 372 :—"Le fiancé est mis au courant huit jours avant la célébration du mariage, par des amis de son âge, des dispositions arrêtées entre parents ; il quitte alors la maison paternelle, car dès ce moment, par pudeur et par respect, il ne doit pas se montrer à ses parents, et cette interdiction dure encore pendant plusieurs mois après son mariage. Il va cacher dans les jardins, où ses amis lui apportent à manger et viennent lui tenir compagnie." At Qalà' of the Beni Rached, in Algeria, it is an old custom that "le fils nouveau marié évite son père durant les

from his son's wedding; on the great occasion when the bridegroom, after the arrival of the bride, comes to *dar l-'ŏrs* to meet her, his father hides himself somewhere in the house or in another house, or stays in the street. Sometimes the bridegroom puts off his first intercourse with the bride till all the guests have gone away, or till the evening of that day, because he is shy of his parents.[1] Among the Aiṭ Yúsi, if he lives in the same tent as his parents or one of them, he will, out of bashfulness, stay away during the day even for a whole month, taking his meals somewhere else and visiting his wife only at night; and here, as in many other tribes, he resumes his intercourse with them by a special ceremony, that of kissing their heads. Among the Aiṭ Sáddĕn, on the day when the bride has been girdled, he is taken to his parents' house by a procession of men and women, who are playing on tambourines, singing, and dancing; accompanied by the two *imsnéin*, he enters the house with the hood of his cloak still drawn over his face, and kisses them on the head. Among the Aiṭ Nḡĕr, after the young husband has returned from his excursion on the evening of the day when his wife has belted herself, he enters his parents' tent in the company of his "vizier" and another bachelor, all

deux ou trois mois qui suivent son mariage" (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, in *Revue des traditions populaires*, xxii. [1907], p. 55. *Cf. Idem, Les Cérémonies du mariage chez les indigènes de l'Algérie* [Paris, 1901], p. 75 [Tlemcen]). Among the Beni Snūs, whilst the young wife sees her parents-in-law as soon as she has resumed her girdle, her husband "reste encore trois ou quatre jours sans oser paraître devant son père et devant sa mère. Puis il vient les embrasser à son tour" (Destaing, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Beni Snous* [Paris, 1907], p. 290).

[1] *Supra*, pp. 249, 252 *sq.*

three with the hoods of their cloaks pulled over their faces, and one after the other they kiss the parents' heads; he is too bashful to appear alone, nay for some days afterwards he still shows great shyness of his parents. Among the Ait Waráin it is the custom that the young husband does not show himself or speak to his parents till some three weeks have passed, when he kisses their hands. This custom is not always observed, but as a rule a son is so shy of his father that he avoids him for a considerable time, "even as long as forty days," after his wedding; and when his wife becomes a mother he never holds the child in his arms in the presence of his father. He is less shy of his mother than of his father, whereas he is more shy of his mother-in-law than of his father-in-law. There is also bashfulness in the relations between the bride and her parents.[1] In Andjra she does not see them as long as the wedding lasts. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn and at Fez, as we have noticed, the girl avoids her father at the time of the betrothal, and nowhere in Morocco does the father go to his daughter's wedding. In some places her mother also stays at home, and the same may even be the case with her grown-up brothers.

If, as I believe, the husband's avoidance of his parents-in-law is ultimately based on the sexual shame felt inside the domestic circle, it may be asked why his avoidance of his own parents should be of a much

[1] *Cf.* D'Arvieux, *Travels in Arabia the Desart* (London, 1718), p. 235:—"All the relations assist at the wedding, except the bride's father, who leaves the house that evening out of an odd piece of niceness that will not suffer him to be at home whilst they are putting his daughter to bed with a man. The fathers make this a point of honour."

shorter duration, although it is a more direct expression of the feeling which is at the bottom of both customs. The answer, however, is not difficult to find. There is no feeling which is more easily influenced by habit than shame, and it would be difficult for the son to avoid his own parents for long, living as he does in their vicinity, if not under the same roof, and having so many interests in common with them. It is worth noticing that there is much less restraint in a man's relations to his parents-in-law if they live in his own than if they live in another village, and that his avoidance of them soon ceases if his own parents are dead, and there consequently is more inducement for him to attach himself to his wife's family than would otherwise be the case.[1] It

[1] These facts are at variance with Sir E. B. Tylor's conclusion that the avoidance between a man and his wife's family is intrinsically connected with the custom of the husband taking up his abode with the latter. He argues as follows :—"If the customs of residence and the customs of avoidance were independent, or nearly so, we should expect to find their coincidence following the ordinary law of chance distribution. In the tribes where the husband permanently lives with his wife's family (sixty-five out of three hundred and fifty), we should estimate that ceremonial avoidance between him and them might appear in nine cases, whereas it actually appears in fourteen cases. On the other hand, peoples where the husband at marriage takes his wife to his home (one hundred and forty-one out of three hundred and fifty), would rateably correspond with avoidance between him and her family in eighteen cases, whereas it actually appears in nine cases only" (Tylor, 'On a Method of Investigating the Development of Institutions,' in *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. [1889], p. 247). This argument, however, suffers from a very serious defect. The fact that the avoidance in question has been *noticed* in a comparatively large number of tribes where the custom is for a man to reside in his wife's family, by no means proves that it really is less common in tribes whose habit it is for the husband to take her to his own home ; for it would naturally be much more conspicuous in the former cases than in the latter. Hence I do not think Sir E. B. Tylor has successfully interpreted the custom of avoidance by saying that, "as the husband has intruded himself among a family which is not his own, and into a house where he has no right, it seems not difficult to understand their marking the difference between him and themselves by treating him formally as a stranger" (*ibid.* p. 248). Nor is there any foundation for Lord Avebury's hypothesis that the avoidance between parents-in-law and son-in-law is a conse-

is true that his avoidance of his parents-in-law may also have something to do with the fact that he has deprived them of their daughter; but many of the statements all the same show that this avoidance is essentially connected with sexual shame. The same is obviously the case with the mother-in-law's avoidance of her son-in-law, whose presence is apt to call forth associations of ideas that make her blush both as a woman and as a mother.

There is no special avoidance noticeable in the relations between a wife and her parents-in-law. In some places at least it is the custom that she, as soon as she has been girdled, kisses them on the head. Among the Ait Waráin after the girdling she kisses her father-in-law's head and hands and he gives her a silk kerchief, whereas her husband, as we have seen, avoids him for another couple of weeks. She addresses her father-in-law *sîdi*, "my lord," and her mother-in-law *lâlla*, "my lady"; but when she becomes more familiar with them she calls the former *amġarînû*, "my sheik," and the latter *tamġartînû*, "my mistress." Among the

quence of marriage by capture (Avebury, *The Origin of Civilisation* [London, 1912], p. 103); this form of contracting marriage has played a much more prominent part in the imagination of anthropologists than in the life of savages. According to Mr. Fison, the mutual avoidance of mother-in-law and son-in-law is due to a fear of intercourse which is unlawful and to the consequent idea that the slightest familiarity between them would be indecent (Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* [Melbourne, &c., 1880], p. 103 *sq.*); whilst Mr. Crawley (*The Mystic Rose* [London, 1902], p. 408) thinks that this avoidance is "causally connected with a man's avoidance of his own wife," being part of the system of sexual taboo, which contains "amongst other things mutual avoidance between engaged couples, and between the married man and his wife." The most obvious weakness in these two explanations is that they do not take into account the frequent avoidance between a man and his father-in-law.

Aṭ Ubáḫṭi a married woman, in speaking to her father-in-law, calls him *ʿámmi*, "my paternal uncle," and her mother-in-law she addresses *ḫálṭi*, "my maternal aunt." Among the Arabs of the Ḥiáina the husband's father is his wife's *šeḫ*, "sheik," and his mother is called by her *lă-ʿgûza*, "the old woman," but when she speaks to them she addresses them *sîdi* and *lâlla* respectively; they on their part call her their *bent*^{s}, "daughter." At Fez the husband's father is his wife's *ḥmû*, his mother is her *ḥma*, his brother her *lūs*, and his sister her *lûsa*.

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY AND EXPLANATIONS

We have noticed a great variety of superstitious beliefs and practices connected with Moorish marriages.

Sometimes divination is resorted to by the young man's mother in choosing a suitable wife for her son.[1] Sometimes the girl prevents a betrothal which she finds objectionable by making use of bad and ominous words or by behaving like a woman at a funeral.[2] The transference of conditional curses by means of *'ar*-sacrifices is a common method of bringing about a betrothment ;[3] and even when no such sacrifice is made it is considered bad if the girl's father or parents persist in refusing a proposal.[4] In some Berber tribes the fear of *l-'ar* has led to a custom which makes it possible for a married woman to run away from her husband and, by taking refuge in another man's dwelling, compel the latter to marry her.[5]

The wheat which is to be used for the wedding, and which has been cleaned in the bridegroom's house,

[1] *Supra*, p. 32.
[2] *Supra*, p. 37.
[3] *Supra*, pp. 35, 38, 42, 45, 46, 51.
[4] *Supra*, pp. 28, 45.
[5] *Supra*, p. 60 *sqq*.

must not be taken to other houses to be ground; for it would be bad to do at a wedding what is regularly done at a funeral[1]—a feeling which also prevents honey being served at a wedding.[2] On the other hand, it is supposed to bring good luck if the bachelors who are present on the occasion when the wheat is cleaned and ground now and then take part in the grinding and singing.[3] A superstitious importance is attached to the grit which has been removed from the wheat; it is put in a clean place so as not to be defiled,[4] or it is thrown on the floor of the bridegroom's dwelling in order that the wedding shall be attended by many guests,[5] or the bridegroom casts it together with dried fruit on the bride when she approaches the door of his house,[6] or it is disposed of in some other manner still to be mentioned.

Marriages are avoided in certain periods,[7] and are by preference or invariably celebrated on certain days of the week.[8] In one tribe it is considered a good omen if the bride arrives at her new home at the same hour as the flocks and herds return from the pastures.[9] There is much omening at weddings. When the bride has been painted with henna, it is an evil foreboding if the painted parts become very red when they are rubbed clean the next morning.[10] When the animal which is going to bear her to her new home is taken to her parents' dwelling, it would be a bad omen if it went

[1] *Supra*, p. 91.
[2] *Supra*, p. 23 n.
[3] *Supra*, pp. 92, 94.
[4] *Supra*, p. 89.
[5] *Supra*, p. 95.
[6] *Supra*, pp. 95, 214.
[7] *Supra*, p. 86.
[8] *Supra*, p. 86 *sq.*
[9] *Supra*, p. 175.
[10] *Supra*, p. 137.

there with an empty saddle ;[1] and empty dishes, trays, or tables, are likewise avoided at weddings,[2] as on certain other occasions.[3] When the bride has arrived at the bridegroom's place, there are omens indicating whether the husband will rule over his wife or the wife over her husband,[4] whether their conduct will be straight,[5] whether the wife will remain with her husband or there will be speedy separation,[6] whether she will be domineered by her mother-in-law or *vice versa*,[7] and so forth.[8]

A very large number of marriage ceremonies spring from the feeling or idea that bride and bridegroom are in a state of danger, and therefore stand in need of purification and of special protection against magical influences and evil spirits. To this class of customs belong avowedly or presumably, at least in part, the bathing and washing of bride or bridegroom,[9] and other water ceremonies ;[10] the shaving of the bridegroom,[11] and the dishevelling of the bride's hair ;[12] the assumption of new clothes and slippers ;[13] the painting

[1] *Supra*, pp. 172, 180, 182, 192.

[2] *Supra*, pp. 24, 25, 34, 239, 241, 249, 279, 287.

[3] Westermarck, *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco* (*Öfversigt af Finska Vetenskapssocietetens Förhandlingar*, Bd. liv. 1911-1912, Afd. B. N:o. 1), p. 38.

[4] *Supra*, pp. 205, 252.

[5] *Supra*, p. 209.

[6] *Supra*, pp. 208, 209, 247 *sq.*

[7] *Supra*, p. 299.

[8] *Supra*, pp. 200, 205.

[9] *Supra*, pp. 118, 120, 126, 127, 136, 140, 141, 144, 146, 149, 153, 155, 156, 161, 162, 228, 232, 266, 277, 296-298, 301-303, 305 *sq.*

[10] *Supra*, pp. 97, 121, 122, 126, 128, 144, 162, 231, 232, 255, 304.

[11] *Supra*, pp. 102, 106, 120, 127, 130, 131, 133.

[12] *Supra*, pp. 148, 169, 172, 247, 261, 264, 291.

[13] *Supra*, pp. 102, 120, 128, 146, 148, 150, 152-154, 156, 175, 194, 225, 275, 304.

with henna,[1] antimony,[2] and walnut root or bark,[3] and, in the case of the bride, with saffron as well;[4] the purification with flour,[5] bread,[6] wheat, *sěksu*, or *tšîša*;[7] the use of candles;[8] the burning of incense;[9] the firing off of guns;[10] the loud music[11] and singing,[12] and the quivering noise of women;[13] the use of salt,[14] needles,[15] steel-weapons—like daggers[16] and swords[17]—and pistols;[18] the wearing of various other charms, for example, silver coins;[19] the making of the bridal box of oleander branches;[20] the hiding or covering of the face;[21] the shutting up of the bride in a

[1] *Supra*, pp. 95, 97-102, 105, 107-120, 136, 137, 141, 142, 144-151, 153-158, 160, 161, 242, 295, 303, 306.

[2] *Supra*, pp. 105, 153, 193, 233, 242, 266, 282, 283, 295, 306.

[3] *Supra*, pp. 105, 153, 193, 242, 266, 282, 283, 295, 306.

[4] *Supra*, pp. 152-154, 242, 243, 266, 295.

[5] *Supra*, pp. 103, 104, 119, 153, 162, 194, 195, 197, 207, 208, 214, 216 *sq.*

[6] *Supra*, pp. 292, 295.

[7] *Supra*, pp. 197, 217.

[8] *Supra*, pp. 97, 98, 121, 122, 130, 132, 136, 139, 144, 145, 162, 166, 187, 226, 231, 248, 252, 292, 295.

[9] *Supra*, pp. 235, 237, 244, 255, 305.

[10] *Supra*, pp. 41, 44, 45, 48, 50, 78, 89, 92-96, 108, 109, 111, 112, 114, 115, 117, 122, 123, 128, 130, 131, 145, 162, 169, 170, 173, 174, 177, 179, 181-183, 185, 188, 195, 197, 204, 210, 211, 214, 218, 281; shots fired on the consummation of the marriage, *supra*, pp. 233, 236, 237, 240, 242, 245, 249, 251, 253, 266 *sq.*

[11] *Supra*, especially pp. 122, 162, 188, 218, 294, 297.

[12] *Supra*, especially pp. 162, 188, 267.

[13] *Supra*, pp. 25, 33, 35, 41, 44, 45, 48, 50, 67, 78, 89, 103, 104, 107, 109, 112, 122, 129, 136, 138, 140, 148, 155, 162, 173, 174, 182, 183, 188, 194, 195, 197, 218, 226, 294, 296 *sq.*; quivering noise made on the consummation of the marriage, *supra*, pp. 228, 233, 236, 237, 240, 242, 245, 249, 253, 267, 269.

[14] *Supra*, pp. 89, 90, 103-105, 123, 147, 150, 162, 166, 187, 251, 256, 296, 306.

[15] *Supra*, pp. 150, 162, 237, 256, 290.

[16] *Supra*, pp. 89, 123, 152, 163, 197, 211, 221.

[17] *Supra*, pp. 97 n., 99, 102, 104, 106-109, 111, 112, 123, 149, 155, 162, 235, 237, 239, 242, 244, 251, 255, 282, 290.

[18] *Supra*, pp. 112, 123, 248, 255, 290.

[19] *Supra*, pp. 104, 105, 123, 147, 162, 163, 290.

[20] *Supra*, p. 168.

[21] *Supra*, pp. 97, 102, 105, 106, 108, 111, 112, 114, 123, 128, 131, 137, 138, 142, 147, 148, 152, 156, 163, 172, 174, 179, 181, 184, 185, 189, 196, 198, 203, 212, 219, 225, 233, 239, 250, 254, 266, 282, 283, 287, 289, 296, 299, 314 *sq.*

box;[1] the dressing-up of the *fiancé* as a bride,[2] and the bride's imitating the appearance of a man;[3] her walking with women dressed like herself;[4] the pulling-up of the backs of the slippers;[5] the keeping-on of the slippers at night;[6] the beating, smacking, or tapping of the bride or bridegroom;[7] their throwing of a slipper at each other;[8] the destroying or removing *l-bạs* by blowing to pieces,[9] breaking,[10] crushing,[11] cutting,[12] burning,[13] boiling,[14] or throwing away[15] some object; the pelting with stones;[16] dancing;[17] incantations against the devil;[18] prayers,[19] recitations from the Koran,[20] the singing of religious songs,[21] and the performance of other ceremonies of religious import;[22] and various abstinences, such as from leaving the dwelling,[23] from eating much,[24] from eating and drinking in public,[25] from speaking or speaking aloud,[26] from

[1] *Supra*, pp. 166-168, 189.
[2] *Supra*, p. 25.
[3] *Supra*, pp. 27, 152, 153, 163, 174, 187 *sq.*
[4] *Supra*, pp. 27, 165, 187; *cf.* p. 198.
[5] *Supra*, pp. 102, 109, 111, 112, 114, 123, 124, 147-150, 156, 159, 163, 251, 253, 254, 266, 290.
[6] *Supra*, pp. 239, 290.
[7] *Supra*, pp. 104, 107-109, 120, 121, 157-159, 162, 198, 199, 214, 217, 223, 235, 237, 244, 248, 250, 252, 256 *sqq.*
[8] *Supra*, pp. 251, 256.
[9] *Supra*, pp. 91, 245, 267.
[10] *Supra*, pp. 99, 101, 108, 109, 121, 131, 149, 162.
[11] *Supra*, pp. 235, 256.
[12] *Supra*, pp. 235, 237, 256.
[13] *Supra*, pp. 304, 306.
[14] *Supra*, p. 306.
[15] *Supra*, pp. 197, 237, 256.
[16] *Supra*, pp. 129, 171, 190.
[17] *Supra*, pp. 98, 101, 110, 121, 137, 145, 149, 162, 206; dancing on the consummation of the marriage, *supra*, pp. 236, 240, 241, 251-253, 267 *sq.*
[18] *Supra*, p. 98.
[19] *Supra*, pp. 130, 231, 232, 244, 250, 251, 255, 266.
[20] *Supra*, pp. 198, 199, 232, 255, 266.
[21] *Supra*, pp. 98, 100, 126, 129.
[22] *Supra*, pp. 129, 186, 200, 205, 208, 214, 218.
[23] *Supra*, pp. 117, 123, 156, 157, 163, 281, 286, 289, 291, 300.
[24] *Supra*, pp. 99, 123, 144, 196, 212.
[25] *Supra*, pp. 99, 123, 130, 203, 207, 221, 234, 240, 241, 273.
[26] *Supra*, pp. 129, 203, 207, 212, 221, 234, 244, 253.

falling asleep,[1] from turning the head and looking back,[2] from bathing or washing[3] or having the head shaved[4] or changing clothes[5] for a certain length of time, from wearing a girdle,[6] from sitting on the ground,[7] from treading on the ground or the threshold,[8] and, in the case of the bride, from the crossing of open bridges.[9] As a protection against magic the grit removed from the wheat which is to be used for the wedding is thrown into a river, water-course, or spring, or buried in the ground;[10] the bridegroom steps three times over the bundle of old clothes containing his shaved-off hair;[11] the bride is carefully guarded by women on her way to the bridegroom's place, particularly for fear lest some malevolent person should in a magical manner deprive her of her virginity;[12] she shakes out the henna-powder from her slippers and throws it into water;[13] and when the young wife pays her first visit to her parents she goes and comes back in the evening, being still very susceptible to the evil eye.[14] Superstitious fear is also at the bottom of the rules that the bride must not be spoken to,[15] that the bridegroom should put his right foot twice over the threshold of the nuptial chamber

[1] *Supra*, pp. 237, 254.
[2] *Supra*, pp. 172, 189, 231, 250, 255.
[3] *Supra*, pp. 114, 115, 290.
[4] *Supra*, p. 290.
[5] *Supra*, pp. 115, 291.
[6] *Supra*, pp. 146, 148, 225, 237, 263, 264, 281, 293.
[7] *Supra*, pp. 25, 27, 100, 102, 103, 105, 106, 115, 123, 130, 132, 139, 142, 227.
[8] *Supra*, pp. 109, 110, 123, 130, 132, 133, 141, 144, 145, 148, 163, 168, 169, 172, 174-176, 179, 181-189, 195-198, 201, 205, 207, 208, 210, 212, 214, 219 *sq.*
[9] *Supra*, pp. 166, 187.
[10] *Supra*, p. 91 *sqq.*
[11] *Supra*, p. 230 *sq.*
[12] *Supra*, pp. 172, 173, 175, 176, 179, 185, 188.
[13] *Supra*, p. 150.
[14] *Supra*, p. 302 *sq.*
[15] *Supra*, p. 203.

before he makes his entrance by a third step,[1] that the candle or candles burning there must not be extinguished by anybody,[2] that the slippers worn by the bride or bridegroom must never be repaired,[3] and that the slippers and girdle which the bride has worn since the wedding must be removed on the fortieth day, and never again be used by her.[4] The sacrifice performed on the girdling of the bride,[5] and the money which the bridegroom gives her immediately before or after their first intercourse,[6] or on plaiting her hair[7] or on undoing the end of one of her plaits[8] or on girdling her,[9] seem to have a prophylactic origin; and I am further inclined to ascribe a purificatory significance to the ceremonial fights and sham robberies which take place at the wedding and in some cases centre round the bride or bridegroom.

The bride, however, is considered to be not only herself in danger but also a source of danger to others. Customs that have direct reference to her may at the same time be looked upon as safeguards against evils which threaten the bridegroom, as is evidently the case with various ceremonies which immediately precede the consummation of the marriage. Moreover, customs that are supposed to protect or purify the bride may also be practised for the purpose of protecting other persons less intimately connected with her than is her husband. Thus she has her face well covered, or she is shut up in

[1] *Supra*, pp. 251, 254 *sq.* [2] *Supra*, p. 252.
[3] *Supra*, p. 290. [4] *Supra*, p. 304 *sq.* [5] *Supra*, p. 294 *sq.*
[6] *Supra*, pp. 113, 159, 237, 239, 241, 242, 244, 248, 251, 253, 262 *sq.*
[7] *Supra*, pp. 248, 261. [8] *Supra*, pp. 261 n. 1, 276. [9] *Supra*, p. 294.

a box, not only to be sheltered from the evil eye, but also because her own glance or the sight of her is considered injurious to others.[1] The pelting of her with stones when she leaves her old home is sometimes said to rid her of her evil,[2] and sometimes to cause her to take her evil with her,[3] or to remove all the evil from the village.[4] The sprinkling of the bride with milk or a mixture of henna and water, when the bridal procession passes a village, is in one instance explained as a method of averting evil from the village;[5] and the ceremonies which precede or are connected with the bride's arrival at the bridegroom's place are largely intended to prevent her carrying evil with her to her new home. It is presumably for this purpose that she, on her way thither, is taken to a river which she has to cross on her mule three times to and fro,[6] and that, if the procession passes a shrine, she has to ride round it three times and *fâṭḥa* is made.[7] For a similar purpose she is taken three or seven times round the bridegroom's house or tent[8] or the mosque of his village[9] or the village itself;[10] purifying substances, like milk,[11] water,[12] and henna,[13] are offered her or sprinkled on her; an egg which has been dipped into milk and flour is thrown at the forehead of the mule ridden by her in

[1] *Supra*, pp. 148, 163, 169, 172, 181, 189, 219.
[2] *Supra*, pp. 171, 190.
[3] *Supra*, pp. 170, 190.
[4] *Supra*, pp. 176, 177, 190.
[5] *Supra*, pp. 177, 178, 190 *sq.*
[6] *Supra*, pp. 185, 190.
[7] *Supra*, pp. 185, 186, 190.
[8] *Supra*, pp. 196-198, 200, 206, 209, 215.
[9] *Supra*, pp. 199, 200, 203, 208, 215.
[10] *Supra*, pp. 203, 215.
[11] *Supra*, pp. 194, 203, 207, 210, 212 *sqq.*
[12] *Supra*, pp. 203, 209, 212, 215 *sq.*
[13] *Supra*, pp. 214, 217.

order that "she shall bring no evil with her;"[1] and the wheat, flour, *sĕksu*, or *tšĭša* which is given her and which she casts over her head is represented as a means by which she rids herself of evil influences.[2] For the express purpose of expelling evil she beats the bridegroom's tent three times.[3] The animal which she has ridden is purified in some way or other,[4] and the saddle used by her is smeared with henna or blood.[5] Before she is carried into the bridegroom's tent guns are fired off close to her in order to prevent her evil influences from affecting the *ĭslān*, that is, the bridegroom's bachelor friends.[6] The ceremonial wedding fights may serve a prophylactic or cathartic object for all who engage in them;[7] and as for the dung of animals used in one of these fights,[8] and the porridge which the wedding guests smear on each other's faces,[9] it is worth remembering that purifying qualities are attributed to these substances.[10] It should also be noticed that the same kinds of purifying or protective matters as are applied to the bride or bridegroom are made use of by persons who come in close contact with them: the bridegroom's best-man or his bachelor friends in general smear henna on their hands or clothes,[11] and paint their eyes with antimony and their lips with walnut root;[12] and the same things, as well as saffron, are used by the

[1] *Supra*, p. 194 *sq.*
[2] *Supra*, pp. 197, 207, 208, 217.
[3] *Supra*, pp. 200, 204, 205, 217 *sq.*
[4] *Supra*, pp. 194-196, 201, 205, 207, 211, 214, 218 *sq.*
[5] *Supra*, pp. 210, 219.
[6] *Supra*, pp. 210, 218.
[7] See *supra*, pp. 128, 224, 245, 261, 268.
[8] *Supra*, p. 245.
[9] *Supra*, p. 242.
[10] *Supra*, pp. 267, 269.
[11] *Supra*, pp. 98, 113, 120.
[12] *Supra*, pp. 105, 120, 202, 282.

bride's girl-friends, and even by all the women who are present at the wedding.[1] And in one tribe not only the bride, but the bridegroom's mother and the other women of his family, have their hair open during the wedding.[2]

Why are bride and bridegroom supposed to be in a dangerous condition, and why is the bride considered dangerous to others? In order to answer these questions it will be necessary for us to compare the ceremonies described above with those practised in cases where either bride or bridegroom or both have been married before. Such marriages are much more common in Morocco than in Europe, owing to the frequency of divorces and remarriages and the practice of polygamy. I once had in my service an elderly Berber from Sūs who had had twenty-five wives, though never more than two at a time, and of these he had divorced twenty-two, and two had died. And divorced wives and widows have also a great chance of remarrying, as they are generally much cheaper than virgin brides, and there is a great demand for marriageable women—especially in Berber tribes where polygamy is much practised, owing to the prevalence of the blood-feud, which makes it highly desirable for a man to have many sons.[3]

[1] *Supra*, pp. 153, 156, 157, 161, 283. [2] *Supra*, p. 291.

[3] I was told that among the Ait Waráin the desire for offspring even overrules male jealousy. A man who has no children is quite pleased if other men have intercourse with his wife or wives; he pretends to know nothing about it, and is assumed to be the father of any child resulting from such a union. So also a son whose father is dead is glad if his mother gives birth to a boy, even though she has no husband.

At Fez, if the bride is a *ḥăjjâla*,[1] that is a widow or divorced wife, whilst the bridegroom is an *ʿâzri*, or bachelor, the feasting and ceremonies which in the case of a virgin bride take place in the house of her family are omitted, a meal only being served there with some relatives as guests. But from the moment when she is taken from her old home to *dăr l-ʿörs* the ceremonies to which she is subject are essentially the same as they would be if she had not been married before, and so far as the bridegroom is concerned the wedding is not at all influenced by her being a *ḥăjjâla*. If, on the other hand, he has another wife or is a *ḥăjjăl*[2]—that is, a man who has been married but is so no longer, either because his wife has died or because he has divorced her—and she is an *ʿâtˢaq*—that is, a grown-up woman who neither is nor has been married,—the marriage ceremonies are, in everything that has reference to her, exactly the same as if the bridegroom were a bachelor; whereas there is no *dăr ṣlân* nor any sham court, as he is not now regarded as a sultan. If, finally, the bridegroom is not an *ʿâzri*, and the bride is not an *ʿâtˢaq*, there are no ceremonies at all, not even a festival meal; he simply sends a woman or two to fetch the bride at sunset.

Among the Ulâd Bu-ʿĂzîz, if the bride is a widow or divorced wife, she does not pull up the backs of her slippers, nor is she brought to her new home on a camel, but goes there on foot, nor has she to pass three times round the bridegroom's tent before entering it. But

[1] At Tangier pronounced *hädᵈjâla*. [2] At Tangier pronounced *hăᵈᵈjăl*.

a camel is nevertheless brought to the bride's place, and a girl of her village is mounted on it. This girl is called "the bride," and is taken to the bridegroom's abode with the same ceremonies as if she were the real bride: she has her face covered, rides three times round the bridegroom's tent, is received there by his mother in the manner of a virgin bride, and is at last carried into the tent. She leaves it, however, soon after, and when the bridegroom and his two friends pass through the tent, as said above, it is the real bride that tries to smack them with the slipper. This, indeed, is only what may be expected, whether the ceremony in question is looked upon as a means of purifying the bridegroom or as an attempt on the part of the bride to become his ruler; it should be noticed that in her old home also she had performed those magical acts by which brides endeavour to gain influence over their husbands.[1] But, unlike a virgin bride, she only spends three or four days behind the curtain in the bridegroom's tent. The fact that the bride is a *häjjâla* does not affect the ceremonies to which the bridegroom is subject, in case he is a bachelor; but if he has another wife, or has had one before, these ceremonies are omitted, whether the bride has been married or not. He then neither covers his face with the hood of his cloak, nor pulls up the backs of his slippers, nor has his hand painted with henna, nor runs through the tent to be smacked by the bride; nor is there any recitation from the Koran made by

[1] *Supra*, p. 157 *sq.*

scribes, nor does he go on a tour with his bachelor friends. His mother does not carry a sieve on her back, and neither she nor the other women of his family loosen their hair, even though the bride has dishevelled hers. But he must stay with the bride for seven days, whether he has another wife or not. It may be added that if a man takes a second wife without divorcing the one he has, he must give to the latter the same *dhāz* as to the bride; and although the old wife is said to be very sorry, she entertains her female friends with a "wedding-feast."

Among the Brâber of the Aiṭ Sâddĕn a woman who has been married before (*ṭâddjalṭ*) does not, like a virgin bride, perform the ceremony called *izüḍ ôḥrir*, consisting in her grinding wheat over her uncovered right thigh, nor is she painted with henna. She goes to her new home on foot, but is accompanied by a crowd of people, including men who are discharging volleys of gunpowder. On her arrival she goes round both the mosque of the village and the tent where she will meet the bridegroom, and beats the tent with a bamboo cane; but she does not smear the tent-pole with butter, nor does her mother-in-law take her to the four corners of the tent, as her *baraka* has remained with her first husband. She wears her slippers with pulled-up backs and sleeps in them at night. She has no belt round her waist till the sixth day after her arrival, but then she girdles herself without ceremony; and she makes no palmetto rope on that day, as does a virgin bride. If the bridegroom is a bachelor the ceremonies which

have direct reference to him are observed just as if she were a virgin; and, on the other hand, if the bride is a virgin it makes no difference, so far as she is concerned, whether the bridegroom be a bachelor or an *ḍᵈjal* (the Arabic *ḥǎjjäl*, or *ḥǎᵈᵈjäl*). In the latter case there is no *ass úfṛn*, nor is he painted with henna, nor does he pull up the backs of his slippers.

Among the Aiṭ Yúsi a bride who has been married before smears herself with henna on her hands, feet, hair, and face, but no "moon" is painted with saffron over her head. When she leaves her home her brother does not spread his *ᵃ'ban* in front of her, and she does not ride, but goes on foot to the bridegroom's place. She wears her belt as any ordinary woman, but she has the backs of her slippers pulled up. She is not sprinkled with milk on the way, nor does she walk round the bridegroom's village before she enters it. If there is a mosque in the village, however, she walks three times round it, but not in company with any virgin bride. No tray with raisins is offered her by her mother-in-law, and she neither beats the bridegroom's tent with a cane nor smears butter on the pole supporting its roof.

Among the Aiṭ Nḏēr, if the bride has had a husband before, she smears her hands, feet, and hair with henna, as women often do, but there is no ceremony connected with it. She walks to the bridegroom's place with the backs of her slippers pulled up, but already the next day she wears them in the usual manner. She does not make the seven circuits round the bridegroom's tent,

and no figs are thrown over her. If she is still young, she spends the first seven days inside the enclosure in the tent where she meets the bridegroom; otherwise it is removed in the morning, to be put up again for the nights only. She wears her belt as usual, and if she is the only woman in the tent, she begins to work on the day after her arrival. If the husband has not been married before, he and his bachelor friends make the ordinary wedding tours to neighbouring villages, just as he has performed all other ceremonies incumbent on a bridegroom; but the case is different if this is not his first marriage, whether the bride be a virgin or a widow or divorced wife. Then no henna is smeared on his hands and feet; he neither covers his face nor pulls up the backs of his slippers, nor carries a sword; he is not regarded as a sultan and has no vizier, and there is no assembly of *isḷan* round him.

Nor are among the Ruâfa of the Aiṭ Wäryâġäl a bridegroom who is not a bachelor and a bride who has been married before subject to the ceremonies mentioned in previous chapters. They make no tours before the wedding, and are not painted with henna in the manner described above. But the bride smears henna on herself a couple of days before she goes to her new home, whither she goes on foot; and on this day the bridegroom slaughters a sheep or goat.

From these facts it appears that the ceremonies of a purificatory or protective kind to which the bride or bridegroom is subject depend on the circumstance whether she or he, but not both parties, have been

married before. A bridegroom who is a bachelor is subject to the same ceremonies whether the bride be a virgin, a widow, or a divorced wife, whereas these ceremonies are omitted in the case of a bridegroom who has or has had another wife, quite independently of the state of the bride; and a bride who has not been married before is subject to the same ceremonies whether the bridegroom be a bachelor, a widower, or a polygamist, whereas these ceremonies are, if not altogether done away with, at all events much reduced, in the case of a bride who is a widow or a divorced wife, quite independently of the state of the bridegroom. From all this I conclude that, even though some of the purificatory and protective marriage ceremonies have sprung from fear of hymeneal blood or from the idea that the bride may carry evil with her both as a newcomer into the bridegroom's household and in her capacity of being a woman, the bulk of these ceremonies are due to the fact that the person who is subject to them is bride or bridegroom for the first time. She or he enters into a new state, the wedding is a *rite de passage*; and to pass into a new condition or to do a thing for the first time is not only in this, but in many other cases, considered to be attended with danger. But it must in addition be noticed that in the present instance the nature of the act itself is apt to increase the supposed peril. Sexual intercourse is looked upon as defiling and under certain circumstances as a mysterious cause of evil. As evidence of this many facts may be adduced.

No sexual act must be committed in a holy place, a

mosque or a shrine, nor is a person who has been polluted by any discharge of sexual matter allowed to enter such a place before he has washed himself. Should he do so he would suffer some misfortune; he would get blind, or lame, or mad, or he or some member of his family would become ill or die, or he would lose some of his animals, or his corn-crop would be bad. I was told that if a person who is not sexually clean visits the tomb of the Aglu saint Sîdi Daud, which is situated on an island, he will find that the water in the sea has suddenly risen to such a height that he cannot go back to the mainland, but has to wait till it has gone down. Nor is a person who is sexually unclean allowed to pray; once when I was staying in Ḥáḥa and the water supply had become extremely scarce, my Berber teacher, who had always before most regularly said his daily prayers, refrained from doing so for a couple of days because his clothes had been defiled by a pollution. Owing to its injurious effect upon holiness, an act generally looked upon as sacred would, if performed by an unclean individual, lack that magic efficacy which is otherwise ascribed to it. The Moors say that a scribe is afraid of evil spirits only when he is sexually unclean, because then his reciting of passages of the Koran—the most powerful weapon against such spirits—would be of no avail. Sexual cleanness is required of those who have anything to do with the corn; for such persons are otherwise supposed to pollute its holiness, and also, in many cases, to do injury to themselves. In most parts of Morocco it is considered necessary for the

ploughman to be sexually clean; otherwise there will be no *baraka* in the seed, or there will grow mostly grass and weeds on the field.[1] So also the reapers[2] and anybody who comes to the threshing-floor[3] when the corn is there must be clean; and the same is the case with the women who clear the crops of weeds in the spring, lest their work should be without result and they should become ill themselves.[4] If an unclean person goes into a granary, it is believed not only that the grain will lose its *baraka*, but that he himself will fall ill; a Berber from the Ait Waráin told me that he once got bad boils because he entered a granary in a state of sexual uncleanness.[5] Nor must an unclean individual enter the vegetable garden, as such a visit would do harm both to the garden and to the person who went there (Ulâd Bu-'Ăzîz, Andjra, Ait Waráin).[6] When a woman is grinding corn she must be clean, lest the flour should be bad (Andjra).[7] Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġäl a menstruating woman is allowed to milk the cows, sheep, and goats, but not a woman who has refrained from washing after she has had connection with her husband. In the same tribe it is held that if an unclean person goes among the sheep they will die, because they are holy animals and in consequence easily hurt by defilement. The Ulâd Bu-'Ăzîz, again, maintain that under similar circumstances the person himself will suffer some misfortune; and in the Ḥiáina

[1] Westermarck, *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, etc., in Morocco*, p. 17.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 23. [3] *Ibid.* p. 28. [4] *Ibid.* p. 22.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 46. [6] *Ibid.* p. 54. [7] *Ibid.* p. 47.

an unclean individual who comes to the place where the sheep are sheared is supposed to get diseased on account of their *baraka*. It is a universal belief in Morocco that if a person who is sexually unclean rides a horse—another holy animal—some evil will happen either to the horse or the rider, or both : the horse will get sores on its back or fall down with its rider, and the latter will have boils, or become ill or die, or be late in arriving at his destination or not succeed in his business. So also the person who robs the bees of their honey must be clean, lest they should leave the place or die, or the person himself be stung by them. Sexual intercourse, moreover, destroys the magical efficacy of a charm if it is not removed before the act, and I have also heard that in such a case the person who wears it may become ill. The Aiṭ Sáddĕn believe that the wound of a circumcised boy gets inflamed if an unclean person looks at it ; and among the Ulåd Bu-'Ăzîz such a person must keep out of sight of any one who has been bitten by a mad dog, so as not to cause the rabies to break out. Blood-letting should be followed by three days' continence (Tangier, etc.) ; and it would be bad to have sexual intercourse the night before starting on a journey (Fez). He who is not clean sleeps badly, being haunted by *jnūn* or abandoned by his guardian angels.

That a polluting effect is ascribed to the discharge of sexual matter seems, largely at least, to be due to its mysterious propensities and the veil of mystery which surrounds the whole sexual nature of man. But the idea that sexual intercourse is defiling is also, no

doubt, connected with the notions held about the female sex.

Islam does not look upon women with friendly eyes. It pronounces their general depravity to be much greater than that of men.[1] According to Muhammedan tradition the Prophet said:—"I have not left any calamity more hurtful to man than woman. . . . O assembly of women, give alms, although it be of your gold and silver ornaments; for verily ye are mostly of Hell on the Day of Resurrection."[2] The Moors say that women are defective in understanding and religion —*N-nsa naqiṣâtˢû* (or *qillâtˢû*) *ʿâqlīn wā dīn*; and God has excluded them from his mercy—*N-nsa nsâhum llah mĕn raḥâmtu.* They are friends of the devil; indeed, an old woman is worse than the devil—*L-ʿagûza ăktˢâr mĕn š-šîṭan.* They are possessed with *jnūn*, who help them to practice witchcraft, nay, many women are really *jnūn* in human disguise. When Shĕm Hârush, the sultan of the *jnūn*, died, he left behind him a daughter who is still alive and assists her own sex in doing evil; hence women are even better versed in magic than scribes. Their looks are dangerous. At feasts they are allowed to eat first, since otherwise they might injure the men with their evil eyes. Once when I was sitting at my writing-desk, one of my servants rushed into my room and quickly closed the window-shutters; and when I, somewhat surprised, asked him why he thus shut out

[1] Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages* (London, 1883), p. 219; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, i. (Cambridge, 1888), p. 238 *sq.*

[2] Lane-Poole, *The Speeches and Table-Talk of the Prophet Mohammad* (London, 1882), pp. 161, 163.

the light from me, he answered that some women had come to fetch water from the garden outside my cottage, and that he could not allow me to be exposed to their glances while I was writing. The curses of women are greatly feared; it is considered an even greater calamity to be cursed by a shereefa, or female descendant of the Prophet, than to be cursed by a shereef. Closely connected with these beliefs is the custom according to which a woman may serve as an asylum. Especially among the Berbers and Jbâla a man who takes refuge with a woman by touching her or sucking her breast or sitting down in front of her or going behind her or running into her house and taking hold of the handmill, is for the moment safe from his persecutor and must afterwards be protected by her husband or family.[1] He is in the woman's *'ar*, and the protection given by women is particularly strong owing to the belief in their magic power and the great efficacy of their curses.[2] The Shlöḥ say, *Tamġart zud agŭrram*, "A woman is like a saint." In times of fighting or uproar the women are left in peace; for a woman is *ḥ̣ŏrma* or, in Shelḥa, *lḥ̣orôm*—she must not be touched. But, owing to their uncleanness, women are also subject to many taboos. They are not allowed to enter on the threshing-floor when the corn is there, lest

[1] The same custom is also found in some of the Arab tribes of the plains, *e.g.*, the Beni Aḥsen and Ḥiâina, but in most of these tribes, I think, it is dying out, probably owing to their subjection under the Sultan's government. Among certain Asiatic Bedouins, the tribe of Shammar, "a woman can protect any number of persons, or even of tents" (Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* [London, 1853], p. 318).

[2] Westermarck, '*L-'âr*, or the Transference of Conditional Curses in Morocco,' in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, p. 366 *sq.*

they should spoil its *baraka*.[1] They are commonly, though not everywhere,[2] forbidden to go into the granaries. In Andjra it is said that if an unmarried woman goes into a *măṭmūr*, or subterranean granary, she will never marry, that a married woman who does so will never have a child, and that a woman with child will have a miscarriage.[3] Among the Ait Waráin women do not work in the vegetable garden (*tábḥērt*), nor do they gather vegetables from it; among the Aiṯ Yúsi, I was told, a woman can go there only by force, if she is more powerful than her husband;[4] and the Aiṯ Wäryâg̈äl believe that a woman's presence in the vegetable garden (*ḏābḥeṛṯ*) would make it dry. Women are also supposed to be injurious to the bees; according to the Ait Waráin the bees would die if a woman approached their nests, and everywhere the robbing is done by men. In the Hiáina no woman, except the farmer's wife and anybody she takes with her to help her in her work, must go among the sheep in the afternoon. Among the Aiṯ Nḏēr there are people who do not allow a woman to ride on their animals, not even on mules or donkeys, for fear lest the animal should suffer by it. In some places, at least, a woman is prohibited from entering a shop, even though she be the wife of the shopkeeper; should she do so, the

[1] Westermarck, *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, etc., in Morocco*, p. 28.

[2] The Igliwa make an exception for such women as are in the habit of praying, but they are not numerous. In the Ḥiáina women are allowed to enter the granary but not to tread on the threshing-floor.

[3] Westermarck, *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, etc., in Morocco*, p. 46.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 54.

baraka would go away from the shop and there would be no sale. There are shrines that must not be visited by women. Thus for example, Sîdi ʿAbdrrăḥman lḥănbûbi, Sîdi Búnwar, and Sîdi Lůâfi—all in Aglu—do not permit women to enter the domed buildings in which they are buried. Should a woman see the grave of the Glawi saint Sîdi ʿAli Musa, at Arg, who died a bachelor, she would get blind; hence if the door of the room where he is buried is open, any woman who passes it has to hide her face. From the feasts of *mujahédīn*, or hero saints who have died in fighting the Christians, women are, often at least, excluded. I was told that once when a woman went to the feast of the *mujahédīn* called r-Rwâḍi, on the seashore between Cape Spartel and Azila, which is celebrated in August, the big pot which is there for the use of visitors fell over her with its contents scalding her to death.

There are certain occasions on which woman is regarded as more unclean than usual, namely, after sexual intercourse until she has washed herself, when she has her monthly courses, and for some time after childbirth. She is then prohibited from visiting mosques and shrines, praying, and fasting in the month of Ramaḍān; and for forty days after the birth of a child the husband should abstain from his wife, though this rule is by no means always observed. The defiling effect ascribed to menstruation and childbirth is no doubt due to the marvellous nature of these processes and, especially, to the appearance of blood; and it is probably this frequent temporary

defilement of a specifically feminine character that has led to the notion of the permanent uncleanness of the female sex. Now it seems obvious that, even though any discharge of sexual matter is considered to pollute a man, the intimate contact with an unclean being like a woman must increase the defilement of sexual intercourse—nay, it may be that this notion itself is more or less caused by the uncleanness of woman, who is the normal centre of the sexual life, and therefore may be supposed to have influenced the conception of its various manifestations.

The dangers to which the bride and bridegroom are believed to be exposed may be other persons' magical tricks or evil looks, or the attacks of *jnūn*, or that impersonal mysterious cause of evil which is denoted by the term *l-baṣ*. They all have more or less the same origin. Thus the *jnūn* or spirits haunting the young couple are no doubt only vague personifications of the supernatural dangers threatening them on account of the new state of life into which they are about to enter, and of the particular character of the act by which marriage is consummated. I think that Dr. Samter, in his recent book, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, has somewhat misinterpreted the nature of the spirits which so commonly are supposed to be active at weddings, by regarding them mostly, though not exclusively, as the souls of dead people,[1] and that he and others have exaggerated the influence which the belief in spirits generally has exercised upon the marriage ceremonies

[1] Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod* (Leipzig & Berlin, 1911), pp. 207, 211 *sqq.*

when, *e.g.*, the breaking of earthenware vessels,[1] or the casting of corn or rice or salt on the people or on the bride,[2] or the throwing of an old shoe,[3] or the use of some red colouring matter assumed to be a substitute for human blood,[4] is represented as an offering to the spirits. This is surely to underrate the importance attached to impersonal magical forces; at all events I can confidently say that such assumptions derive no support from the customs and beliefs of the Moors. The *jnūn*, which form a special race of beings created before Adam, are generally supposed to be active on occasions or in places which give rise to superstitious fear, and in many cases they are personifications of some mysterious qualities in persons or lifeless objects. They haunt unclean substances like blood and human excrements, they live in places of strange appearance, they cause sudden and unusual diseases.[5] Corn, which is looked upon as a seat of magical energy not exclusively, though chiefly, of a beneficial kind, is at the same time constantly in danger of being stolen by *jnūn*;[6] a holy man is likewise particularly liable to be troubled with these irksome beings, and so is often his tomb. What else could the *jnūn* in all these cases be if not personifications of the mysterious qualities of the persons or things in question? I have been told

[1] Samter, *op. cit.* p. 60 n. 4.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 172-174, 201.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 201 *sqq.*
[4] *Ibid.* p. 186 *sqq.*
[5] Westermarck, 'The Nature of the Arab *Ginn* illustrated by the Present Beliefs of the People of Morocco,' in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxix. (1900), p. 253 *sq.*
[6] *Idem*, *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, etc., in Morocco*, p. 32 *sq.*

that there are so many dangers at weddings because the devil wants men and women to indulge in lustfulness, and is therefore displeased when they marry; but this explanation cannot be primitive.

I have previously emphasised that similar ceremonies may be practised from different motives in different cases, and that also the same ceremony in a given case may have a mixed origin. This is obviously true of many of the marriage ceremonies which I have classed as prophylactic or purificatory. I certainly do not maintain that they in every case or exclusively are, or have been, intended to avert or expel supposed dangers or even to serve any definite object at all. Ceremonies which once had a purpose may, in the course of time, become entirely meaningless, and yet continue to be practised; and ceremonies may also be direct expressions of emotional states, whether combined with a special purpose or not. Just as funeral rites and mourning observances, even when they are intended to protect the survivors against the dead man's ghost or the contagion of death, are very largely similar to or identical with natural expressions of sorrow or grief,[1] so the precautions taken at a wedding readily assume the shape of joyful performances, such as dancing, music, singing, the quivering noise of women, and the powder-play of men, which well agree with the mood of persons

[1] See Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, ii. (London, 1908), pp. 308, 528.

attending a wedding-feast. Again, the extremely reserved behaviour of the bride and bridegroom, many of the abstinences which they have to observe, the covering up of their faces, the shutting up of the bride in a box, and the carrying of her out of her old home or into the bridegroom's dwelling, are not only means of averting supernatural dangers but also express or symbolise sexual bashfulness—a feeling which may easily be combined with superstitious fear; whilst in the wedding fights we clearly notice the antagonism which exists between different groups of people. A marriage is, as M. van Gennep puts it, "une perturbation sociale."[1] It deprives the bride's family of one of its members, hence her relatives show themselves unwilling to give her up. Her brother does not allow the bridegroom's people to take her away until they have paid him some money;[2] or he refuses to proceed to the door of the bridegroom's house unless "the things agreed upon" are given as a compensation for his sister;[3] or, if the bride has to cross a river on her way to her new home, her family claim money from the bridegroom's relatives because they are taking her so far away.[4] But the feelings of the bride's people also express themselves in ceremonies of a more violent character. When the bridegroom's party come to fetch the bride, stones are thrown at them;[5] the bridegroom and two other men dressed like him are in one case beaten

[1] Van Gennep, *Les Rites de passage* (Paris, 1909), p. 198; *cf. ibid.* p. 169.
[2] *Supra*, pp. 80, 81, 169, 186.
[3] *Supra*, pp. 213, 214, 223.
[4] *Supra*, p. 185 *sq.*
[5] *Supra*, pp. 180, 186.

by the men and women of the bride's village;[1] and her brother or uncle, before he carries her into the nuptial chamber, has a sham-fight with the bridegroom.[2] Sometimes the latter is attacked by all the women assembled outside his house,[3] or they curse both his and the bride's father,[4] as if the marriage were an offence against their sex; and sex antagonism is also conspicuous in the fights between the bachelors and the unmarried women[5] or the women in general,[6] in the young men's attempts to take something from the bride, who is defended by the other women and the *imsnein*,[7] and in the robberies which the men of the bridal procession commit on the bridegroom's mother and sisters as well as on the bride.[8] The bridegroom is all the time surrounded by the bachelors of the village, who protect him against the married men's attempts to catch him or rob him of some of his belongings;[9] whilst the bride is surrounded by the unmarried girls, who must never leave her alone, lest the married women should interfere with her property.[10] But sometimes the bachelors also beat the bridegroom, who is defended by his best-man, and although this is said to rid him of evil influences it may at the same time be a ceremonial punishment inflicted on him by his bachelor friends because he is deserting their class.[11]

[1] *Supra*, pp. 198, 199, 223.
[2] *Supra*, pp. 210, 211, 223.
[3] *Supra*, pp. 211, 223.
[4] *Supra*, pp. 197, 223.
[5] *Supra*, pp. 237, 238, 269.
[6] *Supra*, pp. 245, 247, 261, 268.
[7] *Supra*, pp. 204, 223.
[8] *Supra*, pp. 200, 223.
[9] *Supra*, pp. 126, 128, 131, 233, 234, 269, 285 *sq.*
[10] *Supra*, p. 144.
[11] *Supra*, pp. 104, 107-110, 120.

Side by side with prophylactic and cathartic ceremonies there are others which are supposed to confer more positive benefits on bride or bridegroom or both. To this class belong blessings and good wishes;[1] the use of white things—eggs,[2] milk,[3] white clothes,[4] silver coins,[5] and other objects of silver,[6]—which are in many cases expressly said to make their lives bright and happy or to bring good luck or prosperity; and the giving of *ġrâma*,[7] which also seems to have a magical significance.[8] Dates are eaten in order to make the couple wealthy,[9] and the young husband buys fish to become prosperous.[10] Various ceremonies are practised with the idea of increasing the live-stock,[11] or of making butter or "grease,"[12] or corn,[13] or bread,[14] abundant in the household, or, generally, of making the year good. For the last-mentioned purpose attempts are made to ensure an adequate supply of rain, by throwing the grit removed from the wheat which is to be used at the wedding into a spring, river, or water-course,[15] or by sprinkling

[1] *Supra*, pp. 95-98, 104, 125, 128, 129, 138, 155, 159, 194, 195, 199, 200, 202, 227, 231-233, 244, 248, 250, 258, 269, 275, 280, 292.

[2] *Supra*, pp. 89, 90, 97, 101, 113, 115, 124, 131, 145, 164, 194, 195, 260, 293.

[3] *Supra*, pp. 25, 27, 28, 139, 145, 164, 170, 172-174, 180, 182, 183, 185, 190, 194, 226, 302-304, 308; *cf. supra*, p. 326 nn. 5 and 11.

[4] *Supra*, pp. 99, 106, 111, 124, 128.

[5] *Supra*, pp. 33, 107, 146, 150, 152, 153, 157, 164, 174, 191, 207, 250, 258, 262 n. 2, 280-283, 287 *sq.*; *cf. supra*, pp. 322 n. 19, 325 n. 6 *sqq.*

[6] *Supra*, pp. 72, 73, 91, 100, 103, 106, 107, 112, 124, 154, 164, 250, 286.

[7] *Supra*, pp. 25, 28, 100, 103-105, 107, 109, 111-113, 116, 124, 125, 132, 138, 139, 142, 146, 148, 149, 155, 164, 226, 234, 254, 269.

[8] *Supra*, p. 125.

[9] *Supra*, pp. 25, 27, 28, 139, 164.

[10] *Supra*, p. 299; *cf. supra*, p. 293 n. 1.

[11] *Supra*, pp. 196, 201, 204, 219, 221, 222, 232, 298.

[12] *Supra*, pp. 201, 205-207, 221.

[13] *Supra*, pp. 201, 219.

[14] *Supra*, pp. 195, 216, 217, 292, 296, 299.

[15] *Supra*, pp. 90, 93 *sq.*

the bride with water,[1] or by offering her water which she sprinkles on the people round her ;[2] and sometimes she is said to cast corn on the people,[3] or in the face of the mare she has ridden,[4] in order to make the year good. When the young wife has been girdled, she goes and gathers some fresh palmetto leaves to make her days "nice and green," and the year blessed.[5] In one instance an egg is used "to give good luck to the bridegroom and a good year to the community ;"[6] whereas in another instance the use of an egg is said to make the weather fine during the wedding, as well as to make the bridegroom's life bright.[7] Other ceremonies are meant to promote cheapness,[8] safety, quietness, or peace.[9]

There are further ceremonies which have reference to the relations between bridegroom and bride or husband and wife. Some of them are intended to facilitate the consummation of the marriage,[10] though a sham attempt to prevent it, likewise by magic, seems sometimes to be made by women of the bride's family.[11] Many ceremonies are practised with a view to making the wife fruitful, and, particularly, a mother of male offspring. When the bride has been dressed in her wedding-costume, the bridegroom's mother, and subsequently the other women also, sing :—"Go

[1] *Supra*, pp. 180, 190, 203, 209, 216.
[2] *Supra*, pp. 198, 216.
[3] *Supra*, pp. 198, 217.
[4] *Supra*, pp. 196, 219.
[5] *Supra*, p. 298.
[6] *Supra*, pp. 113, 124.
[7] *Supra*, p. 89.
[8] *Supra*, pp. 201, 202, 221 *sq.*
[9] *Supra*, pp. 201, 202, 221, 222, 232.
[10] *Supra*, pp. 151, 152, 164, 177, 179, 192, and, presumably, 232, 264 *sq.*
[11] *Supra*, pp. 232, 264.

out may you give birth to male twins, even one son I wish you to give birth to;"[1] or she carries a sieve,[2] or a bundle of her son's old clothes,[3] on her back, as if it were a baby; or the bride's mother is put into a net by the bachelors, and swung to and fro in the same manner as a child is rocked to sleep.[4] The ceremony of the "tying of the *ḥâyḕk*" must be performed by a married woman who is blessed with children, so that the bride also shall become a mother.[5] When the bride is taken to the bridegroom's place the animal on which she rides must sometimes be a mare, on account of its fruitfulness,[6] and sometimes a stallion, that she shall give birth to male offspring.[7] It is, in certain cases at least, for the same purpose that a little boy rides behind her on the mare;[8] and the custom which requires that the animal should also be ridden by a little boy when it is taken to the bride's place[9] seems partly to serve a similar object.[10] While the bridal procession goes round the mosque in the bridegroom's village, the bride asks Lälla Ǧebrîn to bless her with sons who will become scribes;[11] when she has been carried into his tent, his mother leads her to "the threshold of boys;"[12] and a bachelor lifts up one of the tent-poles and puts it into her lap, in order that she shall remain in her new home and

[1] *Supra*, p. 154 *sq.*
[2] *Supra*, pp. 195, 199.
[3] *Supra*, pp. 127, 128, 230.
[4] *Supra*, p. 246 *sq.*
[5] *Supra*, p. 143.
[6] *Supra*, pp. 175, 180, 191.
[7] *Supra*, pp. 168, 191.
[8] *Supra*, pp. 172, 174, 176, 179, 181, 185, 191.
[9] *Supra*, pp. 172, 175, 191 *sq.*
[10] *Cf.*, however, *supra*, p. 321 n. 1.
[11] *Supra*, p. 200.
[12] *Supra*, pp. 201, 221 *sq.*

support it by becoming a mother of sons.[1] Just before the consummation of the marriage the bridegroom prays to God for offspring,[2] or says two *rek'at* followed by *fâṭḥa*, which is considered essential for the production of good children;[3] and after the intercourse the more beautiful of the couple performs the usual ablution before the other, since it is believed that the children will resemble the parent who on this occasion washes first.[4] Certain precautions are also taken to prevent the offspring getting diseased: some bridegrooms do not allow the semen to come into contact with the hymeneal blood;[5] others simply take care not to clean themselves with the same towel as is used by the bride;[6] and on the second day after she was fetched the bridegroom does not put on his girdle.[7] When the week of the wedding has come to an end, there are again some ceremonies which are supposed to help the wife to become a mother of sons: the belting of her is performed by one or two little boys;[8] when she for the first time goes to fetch water, accompanied by other women, she fills with it her own and six other bottles in the hopes that by doing so she will give birth to seven sons;[9] or a boy whose parents are still alive gives her twice water to drink from his hands and, after filling them a third time, washes her face with the water.[10]

It may be that in the last-mentioned case not only

[1] *Supra*, p. 202.
[2] *Supra*, pp. 232, 258.
[3] *Supra*, pp. 244, 255.
[4] *Supra*, pp. 159, 269 *sq.*
[5] *Supra*, p. 265 *sq.*
[6] *Supra*, p. 266.
[7] *Supra*, p. 281.
[8] *Supra*, p. 292 *sq.*
[9] *Supra*, p. 297.
[10] *Supra*, p. 297.

the boy but the water as such is supposed to promote fecundity in the newly-married wife. In the same tribe it is the custom for a married woman, who is anxious to know if she will be blessed with a child or not, to go to the sea-shore on *l'ânṣart*, or Midsummer, day, and the two following days as well, and let seven waves go over her body; then she knows that if she does not have a child soon, she will have none at all.[1] That magic has here dwindled into divination is obvious from a similar custom practised in Andjra, where the young wife goes to the sea on the fortieth day after her arrival at her new home, and, while the seven waves are going over her body, says to the sea:—*A 'âmmi l-bḥar, âna meryâḥa, a'ṭêni l-âulaḏ u ṣ-ṣâḥḥa*, "O my uncle the Sea, I am troubled with spirits, give me children and health." Nor is it only in the case of women that water is supposed to influence fecundity: in Andjra animals are taken to the sea and bathed on Midsummer day in order to get fertile, and if a hen does not lay eggs, it is hung up in a tree while it is raining and a strong wind is blowing. It is well known that in various countries bathing[2] and the drinking of water[3] are practised as methods of obtaining children, and these practices have been traced to the ancient belief "that pregnancy was caused otherwise than by sexual intercourse."[4] But in Morocco, at least, the effect which water is held to have on the fecundity of women or female animals is only indirect, that is, it is

[1] Westermarck, *Ceremonies connected with Agriculture, etc., in Morocco*, p. 86.
[2] Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, i. (London, 1909), pp. 67, 75 *sqq.*
[3] *Ibid.* i. 64 *sqq.* [4] *Ibid.* i. 154.

supposed to remove the evil influences which cause sterility. This appears from the idea that the infertile woman or animal is *meryâḥa*, or troubled with evil spirits, and from the fact that the very same procedure as is adopted as a cure for barrenness, is also supposed to remove or prevent sickness or misfortune in general.[1] Besides water, eggs are used for the purpose of promoting fecundity, in Morocco as elsewhere.[2] Thus in Andjra a woman who is anxious to become a mother sits down over a new bowl in which she has put a raw egg and some *mâ ḏẽ-lâisan*, that is, rain-water which has fallen on 27th April (Old Style)—the so-called *nhâr lâisan*—which is held to contain much *baraka*, and, therefore, is used for a variety of purposes;[3] but in order to be efficacious this water must neither have touched the ground nor been exposed to the sun. After she has been sitting over the bowl for a while, she drinks the water and puts the egg underneath a hen to be hatched; and it is believed that if the peeper is a cock she will give birth to a boy, and if it is a hen to a girl. In the same tribe a man who wants to increase his capacity of reproduction eats the yolk of an egg every morning before breakfast for forty days in succession, and after eating it fills the shell with oil, which he drinks. We have seen that eggs are prominent objects at Moorish marriage ceremonies, and the idea readily suggests itself that they are fertility

[1] Westermarck, *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, etc., in Morocco*, p. 85 *sq.* [2] Hartland, *op. cit.* i. 57 *sqq.*

[3] Westermarck, *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, etc., in Morocco*, p. 74 *sqq.*

charms on these occasions also; but I have found no confirmation of this in the explanations given by the people. Nor have I heard that the fish which figure in ceremonies connected with marriages in Morocco are supposed to secure fertility, as is the case in some other countries;[1] but perhaps an idea of this kind was at the bottom of the custom of casting fish on the young wife's feet, spoken of by Leo Africanus as "a good boading."[2] It may be worth mentioning that among the Aṭ Ubáḥṭi a fish is sometimes buried in a vegetable garden which does not thrive. The practice of receiving the bride with dried fruit, grain, or food made of corn, is not, to my knowledge, regarded by the Moors as a means of ensuring fertility; and that the bride's grinding of wheat over her bare thigh[3] may be meant to serve such an object is only an inference on my part, to which I have been led by the use made of sieves in Moorish marriage ceremonies.

There are customs that have reference to the durability of the union, besides the one just mentioned, which is intended to secure male offspring as well. The bride is painted with henna by a married woman who has been married only once, as it is believed that if she had been divorced by a former husband, the same thing would also happen to the bride.[4] The pelting of the bridal box with stones, when the bride leaves her parents' house, is sometimes represented as a safeguard against divorce.[5] On her way to her new home she

[1] Hartland, *op. cit.* i. 48 *sqq.*
[2] *Supra*, p. 299.
[3] *Supra*, pp. 153, 162.
[4] *Supra*, pp. 141, 149, 150, 161.
[5] *Supra*, pp. 169, 170, 190; *cf. supra*, p. 179 *sq.*

must not turn her head lest her husband should die.[1] When she has arrived at the bridegroom's place, his mother washes her right foot and hand over one of the three fire-stones, in order that her daughter-in-law shall be as permanent in the house as these stones.[2] The marriage tie is also strengthened by ceremonies referring to dress or food, which serve to seal the union or make it more intimate. The bridegroom sends his betrothed a new *ḥâyĕk*, and while she is dressed in it a married woman, who is her husband's first and only wife and much beloved by him, plaits its fringe; and this *ḥâyĕk*, as also other clothes which have been presented to the young man by his *fiancée*, are worn by him when he proceeds to his house to meet the bride.[3] After they have had connection, the belt of the bride is, in one case, tied round the bridegroom's *ḥâyĕk* over the crown of his head;[4] and in another case the bride gives him two handkerchiefs, one of which he ties round his waist, and a cord, which she threads through his trousers.[5] At the ceremony called *r-rbēṭ* the bridegroom has on his feet a pair of slippers bought with money out of the bride's share of the dowry;[6] and on the fortieth day after her arrival the young wife takes off her husband's slippers, puts them over her own, and slips a new pair on his feet, which is supposed to make the couple friendly to one another and prevent divorce.[7] It is also undoubtedly with a view to establishing a

[1] *Supra*, pp. 172, 189.
[2] *Supra*, p. 208.
[3] *Supra*, pp. 127, 142, 143, 260 *sq.*
[4] *Supra*, pp. 249, 260.
[5] *Supra*, pp. 226, 227, 260.
[6] *Supra*, pp. 102, 260.
[7] *Supra*, p. 305.

more intimate union between them that the bridegroom plaits the hair on one side of the bride's head.[1] While the bride is still in her old home, a portion of food is sent from there to the bridegroom, as *'ahd* between the parties.[2] Before they have intercourse they partake of food together, and the intimate character of this ceremony is increased by the bridegroom putting food into the bride's mouth, or by both of them pushing a little food into each other's mouths.[3] This common meal may be followed by another after the connection ;[4] and in one instance there is a ceremonial meal the second night, when bride and bridegroom eat together the liver of the sheep slaughtered at "the great henna" and the egg which was in the bowl containing henna, the former for the express purpose of becoming dear to one another.[5]

There are other ceremonies performed by the bride or her friends with a view to making the husband fond of her or promoting domestic peace.[6] But the aspirations of the bride may go further than this : she tries to make herself the ruler. For this purpose she mounts the ram which is to be slaughtered for the occasion when she is painted with henna and boxes its ears, the ram representing the husband ;[7] she hangs on it a necklace to make him weak and harmless like a woman ; and when its stomach has been removed, she puts her right

[1] *Supra*, pp. 237, 247, 261.
[2] *Supra*, pp. 144, 145, 259.
[3] *Supra*, pp. 231, 237, 244, 250, 251, 253, 258 *sq.*
[4] *Supra*, pp. 244, 253.
[5] *Supra*, pp. 101, 259 *sq.*
[6] *Supra*, pp. 136, 143, 147, 158, 164, 170, 235, 236, 258.
[7] *Supra*, pp. 146, 157 *sq.*

foot on it.[1] The morning after the bride has been painted with henna, she is washed while seated on a weaving-stool and a pack-saddle, the riding of which is supposed to give her power over her husband.[2] She tries to smack the bridegroom when he, together with two other men, is running through the tent, so as to become his mistress.[3] She waves her right slipper seven times towards the door of the nuptial chamber when she hears his steps outside ;[4] or she throws at him one of her slippers when he enters ;[5] or she beats him three times on his body with her slipper when he is going to have connection with her, but in this case it is said that she will be the ruler of the house only if he cries out, whereas otherwise he will rule over her.[6] The bridegroom on his part also tries in various ways to gain power over his wife. We are told that he for this purpose taps her three or seven times on her head or shoulder with his sword,[7] or beats her three times between her shoulders with the cord of his dagger,[8] or smacks[9] or kicks[10] her gently, or drinks first from the bowl which he then holds for her to drink from ;[11] and a similar idea is perhaps connected with his tapping her seven times between her shoulders with his right slipper,[12] his attempt to strike her with a cane when she arrives at his house,[13] her removing the slippers from his feet,[14]

[1] *Supra*, p. 158.
[2] *Supra*, p. 151.
[3] *Supra*, p. 198 *sq.*
[4] *Supra*, pp. 235, 256.
[5] *Supra*, pp. 244, 256.
[6] *Supra*, pp. 252, 256 *sq.*
[7] *Supra*, pp. 235, 244, 256.
[8] *Supra*, pp. 250, 256.
[9] *Supra*, pp. 158, 159, 162, 256.
[10] *Supra*, pp. 242, 256.
[11] *Supra*, p. 232.
[12] *Supra*, pp. 248, 256 ; *cf. supra*, p. 251.
[13] *Supra*, pp. 214, 217.
[14] *Supra*, pp. 237, 258.

and her kissing his hand.[1] In order to make her a "good wife," a brother or friend of the bridegroom gives her a silver coin when she has been lifted out of her parents' tent to be taken to her new home;[2] or the man who carries her into the bridegroom's house for the same purpose passes with her between his legs.[3] Other ceremonies are supposed to make the bride "sweet" or dear to the bridegroom's family;[4] or to put her on good terms with her mother-in-law;[5] or to make her fond of the cattle;[6] or to make the dog of the house friendly with her.[7]

It should be added that it is impossible in many cases to make a definite distinction between protective or purificatory ceremonies and such as are held to result in more positive benefits. The same substance or action may sometimes be looked upon as a means of averting or expelling evil, sometimes as a source of good, and sometimes as both at once. This is avowedly or in all probability the case with the milk or water which is sprinkled on the bride or offered her; the corn which is handed to her and then thrown by her over her head or on the people; the silver coins which are used in some way or other; the white clothes worn by the bridegroom or those who are near him; the beating, smacking, or tapping of the bride or bridegroom; and the pelting of the bride with stones. The egg which the bridegroom's mother dips into milk and flour and throws at the forehead of the mule bearing

[1] *Supra*, pp. 235, 258. [2] *Supra*, pp. 174, 191. [3] *Supra*, p. 211.
[4] *Supra*, pp. 23, 147, 150, 164, 209, 217. [5] *Supra*, pp. 206, 222.
[6] *Supra*, pp. 208, 222. [7] *Supra*, p. 296.

the bridal box is said not only to prevent the bride from bringing evil with her but also to make her "white and red like the egg" and "a blessing to her husband."[1] The throwing of bread and dried fruit over the bride or bridal box is in one tribe regarded as a method of averting from her the evil eye,[2] and in another tribe as a means of increasing the food-supply for the married couple;[3] and the dried fruit offered her or thrown over her is sometimes said to bring good luck,[4] or to make everything sweet,[5] or to make the bride sweet to the bridegroom's family.[6] And when she gives the animal which she has ridden barley or *sĕksu* to eat and throws the rest in its face or over its head, she thereby removes injurious influences from it,[7] or makes the corn plentiful in the household,[8] or makes the year blessed and the animal fruitful.[9] We have reason to believe that in the last-mentioned case and some other cases the prophylactic or purificatory motive is the original motive. But a rite performed for the purpose of averting or expelling evil may easily be regarded as a source of positive benefits, at least if it is a ceremony which contains *baraka*; and *vice versa* such a ceremony, when in the first place meant to bring benefits, may come to be looked upon as a rite of purification. Now *baraka*, or holiness, is a quality which plays an extremely important part in the ceremonies connected with a Moorish marriage. Many of the substances

[1] *Supra*, p. 195. [2] *Supra*, pp. 213, 217. [3] *Supra*, pp. 195, 216 *sq.*
[4] *Supra*, pp. 204, 217. [5] *Supra*, pp. 206, 207, 217.
[6] *Supra*, pp. 209, 217. [7] *Supra*, pp. 205, 219.
[8] *Supra*, pp. 201, 219. [9] *Supra*, pp. 196, 219.

or objects used in them are saturated with it; certain ceremonies are performed by persons who have *baraka* in them, such as a shereef[1] or shereefa,[2] or a first-born boy with the holy name Muḥammed,[3] or a first-born girl bearing the name of the Prophet's daughter Fāṭima;[4] and, above all, bride and bridegroom are themselves regarded as holy persons.

Though Islam considers marriage a civil contract, it nevertheless enjoins it as a religious duty "incumbent on all who possess the ability."[5] "When a servant of God marries, verily he perfects half his religion."[6] It is related in the Traditions that the Prophet once asked a man if he was married, and being answered in the negative, said, "Art thou sound and healthy?" When the man replied that he was, the Prophet said, "Then thou art one of the brothers of the devil."[7] The Moors maintain that a married man is blessed in this life and goes to Paradise after death, whereas a grown-up man who dies a bachelor does not find the road to Paradise, but will rise again with the devil:—*Ila mātˢ ḥad ʿāzri, inḥššar mʿa š-šiṭan.* No wonder then that *baraka*, which is a blessing from God, is ascribed to bridegroom and bride, especially as there is something supernatural about them anyhow, on account of the

[1] *Supra*, p. 24; shereefs and scribes as mediators at betrothals, *supra*, pp. 21, 22, 29-33, 35, 38, 42, 43, 45-47, 50, 52.

[2] *Supra*, p. 293 *sq.*

[3] *Supra*, pp. 113, 119.

[4] *Supra*, pp. 156, 161.

[5] *The Sayings of Muhammad*, edited by Abdullah al-Māmūn al-Suhrawardy (London, 1910), p. 55.

[6] Quoted by Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 221.

[7] *Mishkāt*, book xiii. ch. i., quoted by Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam* (London, 1896), p. 313.

new state of life into which they are about to enter and the mystery of its functions. There is no contradiction between their *baraka* and their dangerous condition or even the *bas*, or evil, seated in the bride. On the contrary, as has been noticed above, holy individuals or objects are very susceptible to all kinds of harmful influences, especially those of a supernatural kind. This I take to depend upon an association of ideas or, rather, a confusion of thought; the attribution of supernatural energy to the holy person or object has led to, or been confounded with, the idea that that person or object is in great danger of being hurt by other supernatural energy. And this idea is the more easy to understand as *baraka* itself implies not only beneficial energy but also a seed of evil or an element of danger.[1]

The *baraka* of the bride and bridegroom makes a wedding an occasion from which persons who take part in it, and even other people, expect to derive certain benefits. It is no doubt their *baraka* that is supposed to give efficacy to the ceremonies practised with a view to producing rain for the good of the crops. The henna which the bachelors smear on their hands and clothes is said to partake of the bridegroom's *baraka*.[2] The dancing with the henna bowl and the passing of it from head to head may be supposed to have not only a

[1] See Westermarck, *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, etc., in Morocco*, p. 32 *sq.*; *Idem*, 'The Popular Ritual of the Great Feast in Morocco,' in *Folk-Lore*, xxii. (1911), pp. 132, 156 *sqq.*

[2] *Supra*, p. 113.

purificatory effect, but also to give those who dance with it the benefit of the *baraka* of the bridegroom or the bride.[1] There is the holiness of "the Sultan" in the bullock which supplies the guests with meat, and particularly in its liver, a small piece of which is given to every man and boy;[2] and a little of his holiness is also transmitted to the spring into which he is pushed.[3] When the bride leaves her old home she presents her brother or cousin, who spreads his cloak or *ḥâyĕk* on the ground for her, with some silver money, which is supposed to give him good luck on account of her *baraka*.[4] When milk is offered to the bride on her way to the bridegroom's place, she dips her finger into it or drinks a few drops and blows on the rest, so as to impart to it a little of her holiness, and the milk is then mixed with other milk to serve as a charm against witchcraft, or poured into the churn to make the butter plentiful;[5] or when, on her arrival at the bridegroom's place, his mother welcomes her with milk, she drinks of it herself and sprinkles some on the people.[6] She hurls the lamb which is handed to her over the bridegroom's tent, so that there shall be many sheep in the village.[7] The bread and dried fruit which is thrown over the bridal box and falls on the ground is picked up by people who want to benefit their corn by putting it underneath the heap on the threshing-floor;[8] or the bride throws the barley which is offered her on the

[1] *Supra*, p. 121. [2] *Supra*, p. 125 *sq.*
[3] *Supra*, p. 126 *sq.* [4] *Supra*, pp. 175, 176, 191.
[5] *Supra*, pp. 170, 171, 183, 190; *cf. supra*, p. 210.
[6] *Supra*, p. 207. [7] *Supra*, pp. 204, 221. [8] *Supra*, p. 195.

people, who catch of it what they can and mix it with their own barley;[1] or she throws the *ṯrīd* given her over the people as a blessing;[2] or she throws the dried fruit which she has herself brought with her on the people, who by partaking of it are said to rid themselves of evil on account of the bride's *baraka*.[3] After the couple have eaten together some *tărffist*, the bachelors must necessarily have a share of the same dish owing to the holiness with which it is saturated;[4] and for a similar reason the *tûrift* brought from the bride's home is distributed among the people.[5] When they come to look at the blood-stained garment of the bride, they rub their eyes with the stains, which are supposed to contain *baraka* and be wholesome for the eyes.[6] When the young wife for the first time goes to visit her parents,. taking with her bread and other food, she must give some bread to everybody whom she meets on the road;[7] and of the bread which she presents to her parents a portion is distributed among the people of their village.[8] The domestic animals, again, are sprinkled by her with henna, so that they also shall profit by the *baraka* which still remains in the young wife.[9]

Among the benefits expected from a wedding we have still to notice some which are closely connected with the event it celebrates. Owing to a natural association of ideas, a wedding is looked upon as a potential cause of other weddings. Before the bride is

[1] *Supra*, p. 211. [2] *Supra*, p. 196. [3] *Supra*, p. 208.
[4] *Supra*, p. 244 *sq*. [5] *Supra*, p. 246. [6] *Supra*, p. 159.
[7] *Supra*, p. 309; *cf*. 297. [8] *Supra*, pp. 302, 307 *sqq*. [9] *Supra*, p. 303.

painted with henna, seven girls pour water over her at a spring and wash her body, hoping that by doing so they will get married themselves.[1] The egg which is put into the henna bowl is subsequently eaten by one of the bride's girl-friends who wants to get a husband soon.[2] If any unmarried woman or girl is living in the house of the bride's parents, the bride is told to "drag her foot" when she leaves it, so as to help the unmarried one to a husband.[3] When the bridal box is taken to the bride's village on the back of a mule, an unmarried youth sits inside it in order to get married soon;[4] or when the bride, on her arrival at the bridegroom's house, has been lifted down from the mare which carried her thither, a bachelor for the same purpose mounts the animal and has a ride on it.[5] When the bridegroom returns from his visit to his parents-in-law, in the company of his mother-in-law, the unmarried women and little girls of the village go with them, so that they also shall marry.[6] In this connection it is perhaps worth remembering that at a wedding the bachelors are gathered round the bridegroom, and the unmarried girls round the bride. I have not heard that this is thought to facilitate their own marriage, but I am inclined to believe that an idea of this kind is not far from their minds. The bachelors, together with the bridegroom, are often collectively called "bridegrooms," and the girls' relations to the bride bear resemblance to the married women's attitude

[1] *Supra*, p. 153.
[2] *Supra*, p. 145.
[3] *Supra*, p. 165.
[4] *Supra*, p. 168.
[5] *Supra*, p. 196.
[6] *Supra*, p. 291 *sq.*

towards a child-bed woman ; when a child is born, all the married women of the village assemble in the room or tent where the event takes place, partly to assist the mother by their blessings, and partly, as I was expressly told, to get a little of her *baraka* so as to become mothers themselves. At a wedding, also, the presence of friends and guests is held to benefit bride and bridegroom, both by the protection they give them against supernatural dangers, and by ceremonies which are supposed to make their lives bright and happy. It is, for example, considered obligatory on the women relatives of the bride to take part in the ceremony of *tʿaʿšêq*, when milk is drunk and dates are eaten, because their presence is thought to bring good luck to her ;[1] and a similar idea underlies perhaps the prescription that an invitation to a wedding shall be accepted by everybody who receives it.[2]

The ceremonies connected with a Moorish marriage are thus partly individual and partly social in character. Among the ceremonies of a distinctly social kind should still be mentioned those which have a tendency to unite the families of the couple : the feasts and banquets in which members of both groups partake, the giving of presents, and the visits which precede and follow the wedding. Their social importance must be particularly great in a country like Morocco where a common meal is looked upon almost as an act of covenanting. If a Moor does harm to another with whom he has shared food, it is said that God and the

[1] *Supra*, p. 139 ; *cf. supra*, pp. 25, 28. [2] *Supra*, p. 85.

food will repay it—*Rǎbbi û ṭ-ṭă'âm iḫállạ̀ṣ*; the eaten food embodies, as it were, a conditional curse.[1] But although there is a strong social element in the Moorish marriage ceremonies, although some of them might be classed among M. van Gennep's *rites de séparation* and others among his *rites d'agrégation*, it is beyond dispute that they in the first place have reference to the welfare of the two individuals who enter into the married state and therefore form the centre of the whole ritual.

I need hardly say that the explanations given in this book of marriage ceremonies in Morocco make no claim to be applicable to similar ceremonies in other countries. But, at the same time, I venture to believe that they may perhaps provide ethnologists with a few points of view which may be of general usefulness, and even make it worth their while to reconsider some of their old conclusions.

[1] *Cf.* Westermarck, in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, p. 373 *sq.*; *Idem*, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. 587.

ADDENDA

WHEN the larger part of this book was already in type I became acquainted with the recent work *Recherches anthropologiques dans la Berbérie orientale—Tripolitaine, Tunisie, Algérie* (Lyon, 1913), by Messrs. Bertholon and Chantre. An anthropological investigation of over 8000 natives has led the authors to distinguish three chief types of man in Eastern Barbary, namely: (1) short, dark-complexioned, long-headed people, members of the Mediterranean race; (2) short, dark-complexioned, brachycephalic people of less certain affinities; and (3) tall, long-headed, rather fair people, probably descendants of a North European stock. Besides these three there is an important fourth type, the negro or negroid; and there are also minor types which the authors suspect to be due to intermixture of the chief types (see Dr. Keith's notice in *Man*, 1913, p. 165). As regards their silence about an Arab type they write (i. 347):—"Dans l'Afrique du Nord, il n'y a plus d'Arabes vrais qu'à l'état sporadique. Dans aucun groupement que nous avons examiné, nous n'avons rencontré de sujets au type arabe suffisamment nombreux pour imposer leurs caractères à la masse. La Berbérie est un pays arabisé moralement par l'importation d'un culte, qui se double d'une organisation spéciale théocratique; mais ce n'est pas une région, répétons-le, comportant des populations de race arabe proprement dite. Une forte erreur commise par les anthropologistes, à commencer par Broca, a consisté à décrire sous le nom d'arabes des tribus berbères plus complètement islamisées que d'autres. Nous croyons avoir, dans cet ouvrage, tant dans la partie anthropométrique que dans la partie craniométrique, fait justice de cette erreur. Les tribus dites arabes du nord de l'Afrique présentent les mêmes caractères somatiques que d'autres tribus berbères sans conteste."

I desire to emphasise that, in applying the name "Arabs" to certain tribes in Morocco, I have not meant to express any opinion as regards their racial affinities, but have simply made use of a term (*l-'árab*) by which the people themselves denote the Arabic-speaking inhabitants of the plains; and by "Berbers" I mean Berber-speaking people.

P. 10.—Messrs. Bertholon and Chantre have devoted some pages (*op. cit.* i. 575-586) to Tunisian and Algerian marriage ceremonies, and have there endeavoured to show that the differences in these ceremonies correspond with the racial differences of the people who practise them; but the evidence they have brought forward in favour of this assertion seems to me to be very scanty. There are no doubt many points of resemblance between North African and European marriage ceremonies — this I have myself shown in the present book; and the new strength which Messrs.

Bertholon's and Chantre's anthropometric and craniometric investigations have given to the theory of a racial affinity between Berbers and Europeans naturally increases our inclination to trace their customs to a common root. But we must remember, on the one hand, that similar customs may grow up independently among peoples of the same race as well as among peoples of different races, and on the other hand, that various marriage customs which prevail or have prevailed both in Northern Africa and Europe have also been found among Semitic peoples. Messrs. Bertholon and Chantre have certainly not given the Semitic influence its due share of attention. They write, for example (i. 585):—"L'exposition de la chemise de la mariée a encore lieu dans toute la péninsule des Balkans. Nous ne connaissons pas de documents sur ce sujet concernant l'ancienne Grèce. On peut croire que cependant ce rite a pu, à une période antique, être répandu parmi les populations de la presqu'île hellénique." Not a word is said of the prevalence of the same custom among Semites, past and present (see *supra*, p. 268 n. 1, and, in addition, Burton's translation of *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*, i. [London, 1894], p. 373 n. 3, as also *Deuteronomy*, xxii. 15 *sqq.*).

P. 17 n. 2.—See also Hanoteau and Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*, ii. (Paris, 1873), pp. 213, 214, 216 *sq.*; Bertholon and Chantre, *op. cit.* i. 576 (Tunis).

P. 25.—Among the Algerian Kabyles the *fiancé*, on the day of his betrothal, entertains the people of his village with figs and nuts, the figs being offered them "comme un présage de la *douceur* de la nouvelle union" (Hanoteau and Letourneux, *op. cit.* ii. 213).

P. 31 n.—At Tunis "le fiancé ne manque pas d'envoyer à sa future des petits cadeaux à l'occasion des fêtes" (Bertholon and Chantre, *op. cit.* i. 576).

P. 55 *sq.* n. 2.—At Tunis "le cousin germain, du côté paternel, a le droit de préemption sur sa cousine germaine du côté du père, même si elle est déjà fiancée. Il a même le droit de la prendre de force, si elle a été déjà mariée à un autre. Le père et la mère de la fille ne peuvent s'y opposer" (Bertholon and Chantre, *op. cit.* i. 575).

P. 118 n. 1.—See also Hanoteau and Letourneux, *op. cit.* ii. 214 (Algerian Kabyles).

P. 118 n. 3.—See also Bertholon and Chantre, *op. cit.* i. 578 (Tunis).

Pp. 120 n. 2, 161 n. 3.—See also Bertholon and Chantre, *op. cit.* i. 578 (Tunis).

Pp. 125, 162 *sq.*—Among the nomads of Eastern Barbary, when henna is applied to the hands and feet of the bride, "on colle avec du henné une pièce d'or dans chacune de ses mains, une pièce d'argent sous chacun de ses pieds. C'est un présage de bonheur" (Bertholon and Chantre, *op. cit.* i. 584).

P. 160 n. 1.—See also Bertholon and Chantre, *op. cit.* i. 578 (Tunis), 584 (nomads of Eastern Barbary).

P. 187.—Among the Algerian Kabyles the bride "est hissée sur la mule par un nègre, s'il en existe un dans le village" (Hanoteau and Letourneux, *op. cit.* ii. 217).

Pp. 191, 196.—Among the Algerian Kabyles it is the custom that, when the bride descends from the mule on which she has been taken to the bridegroom's place, "mais avant qu'elle ait touché le sol, un jeune garçon s'élance en selle à sa place. Dans les préjugés kabyles, cette pratique assure à la femme un mâle pour premier-né" (Hanoteau and Letourneux, *op. cit.* ii. 218).

P. 215 n. 2.—Among the Algerian Kabyles, when the bride has arrived at the

bridegroom's place, "on lui apporte un vase rempli d'eau, dont elle répand le contenu à droite et à gauche sur les assistants" (Hanoteau and Letourneux, *op. cit.* ii. 218). At Tunis, on the same occasion, "une femme lave parfois les pieds de la fiancée. C'est un rite de purification au moment où elle pénètre dans un nouveau foyer" (Bertholon and Chantre, *op. cit.* i. 579).

P. 220 n. 1.—Dr. Frazer thinks that the superstitions which have gathered round the threshold may be explained by the idea that it is an abode of spirits, and then asks why spirits should be supposed to have their seat at the threshold. "One possible answer," he says, "is suggested by a Russian custom. The peasants bury still-born children under the threshold; hence the souls of the dead babes may be thought to haunt the spot. But again we may ask, Why should the bodies of still-born infants be buried under the threshold? An answer comes from northern India. 'When a child dies it is usually buried under the house threshold, in the belief that as the parents tread daily over its grave its soul will be reborn into the family.' A similar belief probably explains the custom, common in Central Africa, of burying the afterbirth at the doorway or actually under the threshold of the hut; for the afterbirth is supposed by many peoples, for example the Baganda, to be a personal being, the twin brother or sister of the infant whom it follows at a short interval into the world. By burying the child or the afterbirth under the threshold, the mother apparently hopes that as she steps out of and into the house the spirit of the child or of its supposed twin will pass into her womb and be born again. On this hypothesis the widespread belief in the reincarnation of the dead would explain the sanctity of the threshold. But it is possible, and indeed probable, that other causes still unknown to us have contributed to shed a glamour of mystery over that part of the house" (Frazer, 'Folk-Lore in the Old Testament,' in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor* [Oxford, 1907], p. 172 *sq.*). Dr. Frazer has thus, some years before Dr. Samter published his book, given actual instances of burials made under the threshold; but these instances are so few and of so exceptional a character that, in my opinion, no general theory as regards the world-wide fear of the threshold can be based on them.

P. 221 n. 1.—On the silence and immobility of a Tunisian bride Messrs. Bertholon and Chantre (*op. cit.* i. 579) observe, "Ce silence et cette immobilité doivent être imposés par la crainte qu'a la nouvelle famille de voir cette étrangère apporter des maléfices par ses regards, ses gestes ou ses paroles."

P. 221 *sq.* n. 2.—At Tunis the bride is on her arrival at the bridegroom's house presented with some yeast as an "emblem of prosperity" (Bertholon and Chantre, *op. cit.* i. 579).

P. 256.—*Cf.* Hanoteau and Letourneux, *op. cit.* ii. 219:—"Resté seul avec sa femme, le mari, avant de la conduire à sa couche, la frappe légèrement trois fois sur les épaules, avec le dos d'un sabre ou d'un poignard, pour conjurer les effets du mauvais œil" (Kabyles).

P. 258 n. 3.—At Tunis "les deux époux doivent boire une mixture composée de tamarin et de sirop de violette: puis ils échangent leurs tasses" (Bertholon and Chantre, *op. cit.* i. 580).

P. 261.—At Tunis "les cheveux de la mariée ne doivent pas être tressés. La coiffeuse les divise en deux parties par une raie placée généralement sur le côté droit de la tête. Une portion flotte sur le devant de la poitrine" (Bertholon and Chantre, *op. cit.* i. 578).

P. 263 n. 1.—At Tunis "la fiancée ne doit pas porter de ceinture jusqu'au mariage" (Bertholon and Chantre, *op. cit.* i. 578).

P. 263 *sq.* n. 3.—At Tunis "la jeune épouse doit, le lendemain, trouver sous son traversin une bourse, contenant une somme d'argent variable selon les ressources du mari" (Bertholon and Chantre, *op. cit.* i. 580). Among the nomads of Eastern Barbary "au moment où il fait passer la chemise hors de la tente, le mari doit poser son pied sur celui de sa femme. Il lui remet en même temps une somme d'argent (4 ou 5 douros)" (*ibid.* i. 584).

Pp. 266 n. 1, 267 n. 1, 268 n. 1.—*Cf.* Hanoteau and Letourneux, *op. cit.* ii. 219:—"Si la nouvelle épouse est vierge, les femmes attendent le moment où le mari sort de la chambre, et, fier de sa victoire, l'annonce en tirant un coup de feu. A ce signal répondent des cris de joie, et les femmes se précipitent dans la chambre pour constater *de visu* la réalité de son triomphe" (Kabyles). *Cf.* also Bertholon and Chantre, *op. cit.* i. 584:—"L'exposition de la chemise est accueillie par des *youyou* et des coups de fusil" (nomads of Eastern Barbary); and *ibid.* i. 580:—"La chemise de la mariée est présentée aux parents et aux invités. Des *youyou* célèbrent l'événement" (Tunis). In the Arabian Nights (the 39th Night, Burton's translation, i. 373) we read that on the night of consummation the throat of a pigeon-poult was cut and the blood sprinkled on the bride's shift. With reference to this passage Burton remarks (*ibid.* i. 373 n. 3) that the ancient practice of inspecting the marriage-sheet is still religiously preserved in most parts of the East, and that in old-fashioned Moslem families the sheet is publicly exposed in the harem.

P. 283.—At Tunis *ḥarqoṣ* is applied to the bride after she has had her bath and before she is painted with henna (Bertholon and Chantre, *op. cit.* i. 578).

P. 284.—"Dans les villages du Sahel Tunisien, il est d'usage que pendant la semaine qui suit la noce, le marié, accompagné de ses amis, aille se poster sur la route. Il jette le foulard de sa femme sur les divers passants. Chacun est tenu de rapporter l'objet qui l'a touché. Il doit y ajouter une somme d'argent, si minime soit-elle" (Bertholon and Chantre, *op. cit.* i. 581).

P. 295 n. 1.—On my last journey to Morocco, when Chap. VIII. was already in type, I was told in the Faḥṣ that dried fruit, *rġaif*, an egg, and a silver coin are given to each of the two boys who girdle the bride in order to make them happy and the act they perform auspicious.

P. 299 n. 1.—At Tunis, "dans la maison du futur, on confectionne des gâteaux en pâte feuilletée représentant surtout des poissons ou des serpents enroulés" (Bertholon and Chantre, *op. cit.* i. 578; *cf. ibid.* i. 584).

P. 313 n. 1.—See Westermarck, *The Origin of Human Marriage* (London, 1891, 1894, 1901), p. 319 *sqq.*; *Idem*, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, ii. (London, 1908), p. 368 *sqq.* In the latter work I replied to various objections raised against my attempt to explain the prohibition of marriage between kindred and exogamy, but since its publication new attacks have been made on my theory. Thus Dr. Frazer has criticised it in his work *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. iv. (London, 1910), p. 96 *sqq.* I shall here insert the reply to his criticism which I published in *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxii. (1911), p. 86 *sqq.*, especially because Dr. Frazer has drawn my attention to a point with which I ought to have dealt more fully in my previous books. I wrote as follows:—

"My own belief is that there is an innate aversion to sexual intercourse between persons living very closely together from early childhood, and that, as such persons

are in most cases related by blood, this feeling naturally displays itself in custom and law as a horror of intercourse between near kin. Dr. Frazer admits that there seems to be some ground for believing in the existence of 'a natural aversion to, or at least a want of inclination for, sexual intercourse between persons who have been brought up closely together from early youth'; but he finds it difficult to understand how this could have been changed into an aversion to sexual intercourse with persons near of kin, and maintains that, till I explain this satisfactorily, the chain of reasoning by which I support my theory breaks down entirely at the crucial point. For my own part, I think that the transition which Dr. Frazer finds so difficult to understand is not only possible and natural but well-nigh proved by an exactly analogous case of equally world-wide occurrence and of still greater social importance, namely, the process which has led to the association of all kinds of social rights and duties with kinship. The maternal and paternal sentiments, which largely are at the bottom of parental duties and rights, cannot in their simplest forms be based on a knowledge of blood relationship, but respond to stimuli derived from other circumstances, notably the proximity of the helpless young, that is, the external relationship in which the offspring from the beginning stand to the parents. Nor is the so-called filial love in the first instance rooted in considerations of kinship; it is essentially retributive, the agreeable feeling produced by benefits received making the individual look with pleasure and kindliness upon the giver. Here again the affection is ultimately due to close living together, and is further strengthened by it, as appears from the cooling effect of long separation of children from their parents. So also fraternal love and the duties and rights which have sprung from it depend in the first place on other circumstances than the idea of a common blood; and the same may be said of the tie which binds together relatives more remotely allied. Its social force is ultimately derived from near relatives' habit of living together. Men became gregarious by remaining in the circle where they were born; if, instead of keeping together with their kindred, they had preferred to isolate themselves or to unite with strangers, there would certainly be no blood-bond at all. The mutual attachment and the social rights and duties which resulted from this gregarious condition were associated with the relation in which the members of the group stood to one another,—the relation of kinship as expressed by a common name; and these associations might last even after the local tie was broken, being kept up by the common name. Even we ourselves are generally more disposed to count kin with distant relatives who have our own surname than with relatives who have a different name; and still greater must be the influence which language in this respect exercises on the mind of a savage, to whom a person's name is part of his personality.

"Here we have an immense group of facts which, though ultimately depending upon close living together, have been interpreted in terms of kinship. Why, then, could not the same have been the case with the aversion to incest and the prohibitory rules resulting from it? They really present a most striking analogy to the instances just mentioned. They have been associated with kinship because near relatives normally live together. They have come to include relatives more remotely allied who do not live together, owing to an association of ideas, especially through the influence of a common name; clan exogamy has its counterpart, for instance, in the blood feud as a duty incumbent on the whole clan. But there are also cases in which marriages between unrelated persons who have been brought up

together in the same family, or who belong to the same local group, are held blamable or are actually prohibited; and so there are, even in early society, social rights and duties which are associated not with a common descent but with close living together. Dr. Frazer asks,—'If the root of the whole matter is a horror of marriage between persons who have always lived with each other, how comes it that at the present day that horror has been weakened into a mere general preference for marriage with persons whose attractions have not been blunted by long familiarity? . . . Why should the marriage of a brother with a sister, or of a mother with a son, excite the deepest detestation, . . . while the origin of it all, the marriage between housemates, should excite at most a mild surprise too slight probably to suggest even a subject for a farce, and should be as legitimate in the eye of the law among all civilised nations as any other marriage?' For my own part, I believe that marriage between a man and his foster-daughter, or between a foster-brother and a foster-sister, in case the social relations between them have been exactly similar to those of blood-relatives of corresponding degrees, would cause more than a mild surprise, and appear unnatural and objectionable. I do not deny that unions between the nearest blood-relatives inspire a horror of their own, but it seems quite natural that they should do so, considering that from earliest times the aversion to sexual intercourse between persons living closely together has been expressed in prohibitions against unions between kindred. Such unions have been stigmatised by custom, law, and religion, whilst much less notice has been taken of intercourse between unrelated persons who may occasionally have grown up in the same household. Nor can it be a matter of surprise that the prohibitory rules so commonly refer to marriages of kindred alone. Law only takes into account general and well-defined cases, and hence relationships of some kind or other between persons who are nearly always kindred are defined in terms of blood-relationship. This is true not only of the prohibitions of incest, but of many duties and rights inside the family circle.

"Dr. Frazer raises another objection to my theory. He argues that, if exogamy resulted from a natural instinct, there would be no need to reinforce that instinct by legal pains and penalties; the law only forbids men to do what their instincts incline them to do, and hence we may always safely assume that crimes forbidden by law are crimes which many men have a natural propensity to commit. I must confess that this argument greatly surprises me. Of course, where there is no transgression there is no law. But Dr. Frazer cannot be ignorant of the variability of instincts and of the great variability of the sexual instinct; nor should he forget that there are circumstances in which a natural sentiment may be blunted and overcome. Would he maintain that there can be no deep natural aversion to bestiality because bestiality is forbidden by law, and that the exceptional severity with which parricide is treated by many law books proves that a large number of men have a natural propensity to kill their parents? The law expresses the feelings of the majority and punishes acts that shock them.

"Dr. Frazer accuses me of having extended Darwin's methods to subjects which only partially admit of such treatment, because my theory of the origin of exogamy attempts to explain the growth of a human institution 'too exclusively from physical and biological causes without taking into account the factors of intelligence, deliberation, and will.' This, Dr. Frazer adds, is 'not science but a bastard imitation of it.' What have I done to incur so severe an accusation? I have

suggested that the instinctive aversion to sexual intercourse between persons who have been living very closely together from early youth may be the result of natural selection. I am inclined to think,—and so is Dr. Frazer also,—that consanguineous marriages are in some way or other detrimental to the species. This fact would lead to the development of a sentiment which would be powerful enough, as a rule, to prevent injurious unions,—a sentiment which would not, of course, show itself as an innate aversion to sexual connections with near relatives as such, but as an aversion on the part of individuals to union with others with whom they lived closely together from early childhood. These, as a matter of fact, would be blood-relations, and the result would consequently be the survival of the fittest. All that I have done, then, is that I have appealed to natural selection to explain the origin of a primeval instinctive sentiment; and I can never believe that this is to transgress the legitimate boundaries of Darwinism.

"Dr. Frazer himself thinks that 'we may safely conclude that infertility is an inevitable consequence of inbreeding continued through many generations in the same place and under the same conditions,' and in support of this view he quotes the valuable opinions of Mr. Walter Heape and Mr. F. H. A. Marshall. He thus finds that the principles of exogamy present 'a curious resemblance' to the principles of scientific breeding, but he rightly assumes that this analogy cannot be due to any exact knowledge or far-seeing care on the part of its savage founders. How then shall we explain this analogy? Dr. Frazer's answer is that 'it must be an accidental result of a superstition, an unconscious mimicry of science.' In prohibiting incest the poor savages 'blindly obeyed the impulse of the great evolutionary forces which in the physical world are constantly educing higher out of lower forms of existence and in the moral world civilisation out of savagery. If that is so, exogamy has been an instrument in the hands of that unknown power, the masked wizard of history, who by some mysterious process, some subtle alchemy, so often transmutes in the crucible of suffering the dross of folly and evil into the fine gold of wisdom and good.' I hope it will not be considered uncalled-for impertinence on my part to ask if this reasoning is a specimen of what Dr. Frazer regards as science proper in contradistinction to my own 'bastard imitation of it'?

"In any attempt to explain the origin of exogamy there are, in my opinion, three parallel groups of facts of general occurrence which necessarily must be taken into consideration:—Firstly, the prohibitions of incest and rules of exogamy themselves; secondly, the aversion to sexual intercourse between persons living together from early youth; thirdly, the injurious consequences of inbreeding. As for the facts of the first group, Dr. Frazer and I agree that they all have the same root, exogamy being in some way or other derived from an aversion to the marriages of near kin. As for the facts of the second group, Dr. Frazer at all events admits that 'there seems to be some ground' for believing in them. As for the facts of the third group, there is complete agreement between us. I ask,—Is it reasonable to think that there is no causal connection between these three groups of facts? Is it right, as Dr. Frazer does, to ignore the second group altogether, and to look upon the coincidence of the first and the third as accidental? I gratefully acknowledge that Dr. Frazer's chapter on the Origin of Exogamy has strengthened my belief in my own theory; and, considering on the one hand the nature of his objections to it and on the other hand our agreement in many essential points, I cannot help cherishing the hope,—although I apologise for expressing it,—that the last

differences of opinion will disappear some day when Dr. Frazer is reconsidering the whole question with that fair impartiality which is one of the finest qualities of his genius."

Other objections to my theory have been made by Messrs. Hose and M'Dougall in their recent work on *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, vol. ii. (London, 1912), p. 197 n. They observe that intercourse between a youth and his sister-by-adoption is not regarded as incest in these tribes, and that they know at least one instance of marriage between two young Kenyahs brought up together as adopted brother and sister. "This occurrence of incest between couples brought up in the same household," they say, "is, of course, difficult to reconcile with Professor Westermarck's well-known theory of the ground of the almost universal feeling against incest, namely that it depends upon sexual aversion or indifference engendered by close proximity during childhood." They moreover maintain that "the occurrence of incest between brothers and sisters, and the strong feeling of the Sea Dayaks against incest between nephew and aunt (who often are members of distinct communities)," are facts which are fatal to this theory.

When I made my attempt to explain the rules against incest I did not, of course, overlook the fact that these rules very frequently have reference to persons who are, or may be, members of different communities. I wrote (*Human Marriage*, p. 330 *sq.*):—"In a large number of cases, prohibitions of intermarriage are only indirectly influenced by the close living together. Aversion to the intermarriage of persons who live in intimate connection with each other has provoked prohibitions of the intermarriage of relations; and, as kinship is traced by means of a system of names, the name comes to be considered identical with relationship. . . . Generally speaking, the feeling that two persons are intimately connected in some way or other may, through an association of ideas, give rise to the notion that marriage or intercourse between them is incestuous." How could anybody deny the operation of the law of association, for instance, in the Roman Catholic prohibition of marriage between co-sponsors, or in the rule prevalent in Eastern Europe, according to which the groomsman at a wedding is forbidden to intermarry with the family of the bride, or in laws prohibiting marriage between relatives by alliance? Why, then, might not the same law have acted upon other relationships also, such as those constituted by a common descent or a common name? As for the influence of the name, I may mention the fact that the Chinese Penal Code punishes with sixty blows any one who marries a person with his own surname, although among the entire Chinese population of the Empire there are said to be only about 530 different surnames. Messrs. Hose's and M'Dougall's own attempt to solve the problem is, if I understand them rightly, based on the supposition that the prohibitions of intermarriage originally referred to persons who belonged to the same community. They write:—"If we accept some such view of the constitution of primitive society as has been suggested by Messrs. Atkinson and Lang (*Primal Law*), namely, that the social group consisted of a single patriarch and a group of wives and daughters, over all of whom he exercised unrestricted power or rights; we shall see that the first step towards the constitution of a higher form of society must have been the strict limitation of his rights over certain of the women, in order that younger males might be incorporated in the society and enjoy the undisputed possession of them. The patriarch, having accepted this limitation of his rights over his daughters for the sake of the greater security and strength of the band given by the inclusion of

a certain number of young males, would enforce all the more strictly upon them his prohibition against any tampering with the females of the senior generation. Thus very strict prohibitions and severe penalties against the consorting of the patriarch with the younger generation of females, *i.e.* his daughters, and against intercourse between the young males admitted to membership of the group and the wives of the patriarch, would be the essential conditions of advance of social organisation. The enforcement of these penalties would engender a traditional sentiment against such unions, and these would be the unions primitively regarded as incestuous. The persistence of the tendency of the patriarch's jealousy to drive his sons out of the family group as they attained puberty would render the extension of this sentiment to brother-and-sister unions easy and almost inevitable. For the young male admitted to the group would be one who came with a price in his hand to offer in return for the bride he sought. Such a price could only be exacted by the patriarch on the condition that he maintained an absolute prohibition on sexual relations between his offspring so long as the young sons remained under his roof." I should like to know how Messrs. Hose and M'Dougall, on the basis of this theory, would explain "the strong feeling of the Sea Dayaks against incest between nephew and aunt (who often are members of distinct communities)," and, generally speaking, the rules prohibiting the intermarriage of persons belonging to different local groups. For the rest, I must confess that the assumptions on which their whole theory rests seem to me extremely arbitrary. Brothers are prohibited from marrying their sisters because the old patriarch drove away his grown-up sons out of jealousy; but his jealousy was not strong enough to prevent other young males from joining the band. On the contrary, he allowed them to be incorporated in it, because they added to its strength; nay he gave them his own daughters in marriage, and refrained henceforth himself from intercourse with these young women so rigorously that ever since a father has been prohibited from marrying his daughter. But the young men had to pay a price for their wives. It may be asked: why did not the old patriarch accept a price from his own sons or let them work for him, instead of mercilessly turning them out of their old home, although they would have been just as good protectors of it as anybody else? And why did he give the young men his *daughters*? He might have kept the young women for himself and let the young men have the old ones. This is what is done by the old men in Australia, where the young girls are, as a rule, allotted to old men, and the boys, whenever they are allowed to marry, get old *lubras* as wives (Malinowski, *The Family among the Australian Aborigines* [London, 1913], p. 259 *sqq.*). Yet, in spite of this custom, there is no country where incest has been more strictly prohibited than in Australia.

Messrs. Hose and M'Dougall maintain that the occurrence of incest between brothers and sisters and the feeling of the Sea Dayaks against incest between nephew and aunt are facts which seem "to point strongly to the view that the sentiment has a purely conventional or customary source." I ask: is it reasonable to suppose that, if this were the case, the feeling against sexual intercourse between the nearest relatives could have so long survived the conditions from which it sprang without showing any signs of decay? The prohibited degrees are very differently defined in the customs or laws of different peoples — generally speaking, they are more numerous among peoples unaffected by modern civilisation than they are in more advanced communities; but I think it can be shown that the extent to which

relatives are prohibited from intermarrying is closely connected with the intimacy of their social relations. Whilst among ourselves cousins are allowed to intermarry, there is still a strong sentiment against intercourse between parents and children and between brothers and sisters, who in normal cases belong to the same family circle. Why should the feeling against incest have survived in this case but not in others, if it had a purely conventional origin? And how could any law based on convention alone account for the normal absence of erotic feelings in the relations between parents and children and brothers and sisters? Although law may forbid a son to marry his mother, a father to marry his daughter, and a brother to marry his sister, it could certainly not prevent his *desiring* such a union; has any law yet been able to suppress, say, adulterous inclinations? Plato (*Leges*, viii. 838) observed that an unwritten law defends as sufficiently as possible parents from incestuous intercourse with their children and brothers from intercourse with their sisters, and that "not even the thought of such a thing ever enters at all into the minds of most of them." It is true that cases of intercourse between the nearest relatives do occur, but they are certainly quite exceptional. Messrs. Hose and M'Dougall say themselves (p. 198) that "incest of any form is very infrequent" among the tribes of Borneo, and they seem to know of only one instance of marriage between young Kenyahs brought up together as adopted brother and sister, although such marriages are allowed. Considering the extreme variability to which the sexual impulse is subject, it is not astonishing that cases of what we consider incestuous intercourse sometimes occur; it seems to me more remarkable that the abhorrence of incest should be so general and the exceptions to the rule so few. To maintain that these cases are fatal to my theory seems to me as illogical as it would be to assume that the occurrence of a *horror feminæ* in many men disproves the general prevalence of a feeling of love between the sexes.

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